

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. IV

FEBRUARY 1880

No. 2

THE LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

THE publication of unpublished documents and letters of Washington was begun in the February and continued in the August number of the Magazine, last year (1879). In addition to some important public papers, eighty-nine letters from his pen or under his signature were then first printed. They covered a period from 1754 to the close of the year 1780, were printed in the order of their dates, and were numbered from I to LXXXIX.

After mature consideration it has been decided to adhere to the same order of chronological arrangement, and of numbering, until all letters of dates subsequent to those already printed and prior to the close of the Revolution have been made public.

The thirty letters of the present number comprise all that have been received of the year 1781. The publication of those of the year 1782 will follow in August; the intention being to publish a Washington number each February, and a supplementary block of Washington letters each succeeding August, until every accessible letter has been procured and printed.

It is hoped that this plan will meet the approval of all, and be accepted by those, whose contributed letters have not yet appeared, as a satisfactory reason for the delay in their publication. Among those thus reserved are numerous, some very important, letters of dates antecedent to, and of the earlier years of, the Revolution. These will form the first of a second series, which will be begun when the close of the Revolution has been reached in the present publication.

A general co-operation of all persons interested in American History is again requested, and the importance of this collection again earnestly urged. Every letter that bears the signature of Washington, whether in his handwriting or not, or however unimportant it may appear, has its value. The simple establishment of his presence at a particular date may have a controlling weight in determining some point of historic importance.

The generous contributions received from all parts of the country, in response to the appeal made last year, have not yet ceased, each week bringing additions to the already extensive collection. For this very reason the appeal is again urgently pressed, that the work may be carried forward to complete conclusion in the second series.

While special attention and preference has been, and is still given in the Magazine to letters of Washington, those of other characters distinguished in history have not been neglected. A large number of letters of Lafayette have already been brought together, and will appear in a Lafayette number, in the course of the year; to this contributions are also requested. In addition, any letters of French officers who served in the army of the United States, or in the French contingent under de Rochambeau, will be most welcome at this time, when no pains is being spared to supply in the pages of the Magazine all attainable information concerning the alliance with France and her intervention in American affairs. The centennial anniversary of the landing of the French troops occurs the present year. It is particularly desired that all French letters be contributed in the original text and not in translation.

An extensive collection of correspondence of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods has been made by unremitting effort and diligence during the last three years, the publication of which will be begun when the material is sufficient to allow of being presented in groups. By this method, letters desultory in character and of little separate importance, acquire value from their cognate relation and interdependence. Viewed in this light the letter of the soldier in the ranks has a place as important as that of the general in the council or the field. To this also general co-operation is invited. The contributors to this branch of documents are requested to send the originals, which will be transcribed and returned without delay.

The interest which has been shown in all parts of the country, by the press and by individuals, in this effort is gratefully acknowledged, and cordial thanks are also tendered to the numerous persons whose friendly correspondence has been a source of peculiar pleasure, and of itself a sufficient reward for the arduous labor of the undertaking.

EDITOR

A NATIONAL STANDARD FOR THE LIKENESS OF WASHINGTON

The vast interest taken in whatever relates to the glorious name of Washington gives rise to every description of eulogy and memorial; indeed, genius and patriotism are constantly stimulated to the highest degree of emulation in portraying the sublime grandeur of his mind and heart, as well as his majestic form and noble features. Yet, whilst literature is pronouncing his greatness with the correspondence of an uniform type, his image is assuming every variety of phase, even to senseless caricatures, an inconsistency which may be ascribed mainly to a want of confidence in the skill of his limners, since no two likenesses taken from life resemble each other, and none coincide with the numerous descriptions transmitted by historians and personal friends. These discrepancies have necessarily obliged modern artists to indulge in speculative conceptions, and in concert to present heroic rather than truthful presentations; an error which will, if not speedily arrested, fasten upon posterity an endless variety of mere mythical images.

The history of Washington is a record of facts engrafted on the annals of his country, and they are so simple and grand that fiction can add neither beauty or interest to them. So Marshall thought in writing his life, for in narrating his illustrious career, he transmitted the most truthful history of the nation. This dignified work, however, not proving sufficiently exciting and extravagant for the impulsiveness of the times, has been assigned to august repose in the library of antiquated classics, and every species of fanciful biography has been issued to supersede it. The image of Washington also, in conformity to the spirit of the age, has undergone similar treatment with more unsatisfactory results.

Public attention was called a few years since to a likeness as life-like in character as the truthful history of Marshall; and it is only necessary to sweep aside the rubbish and webs of prejudice, malicious detraction and selfish interest to establish universally the fact that in it exists the literal true portraiture of Washington as in the life, the truth of which statement must eventually be as fully realized as that the light of the earth is the reflex of the sun.

In support of this assertion the critic will require the evidence to be presented in an intelligent shape. To accomplish this result, a preliminary review of the whole subject appears expedient; yet for the sake of brevity, the leading points only will be examined. To comment upon the numerous publications which were designed to accomplish the object in view, would involve an amount of unpleasant and unprofitable controversy. Attention will therefore be particularly directed to an essay by the late George W. P. Custis, entitled the Appendix to the Custis Recollections and Private Memoirs, &c., which was intended to be a final suggestion towards the establishment of a "National Standard for Washington's personal appearance," by which the most authentic likenesses and the abilities of the artists who produced them will be carefully considered, and the conclusion as to their merits will rest upon a mere summary of the facts.

Mr. Custis names several pictures which have peculiar claims to authenticity, but he gives his entire sanction to three only: the first, by Charles Wilson Peale, painted from the life in 1772; the second, by Trumbull, and the third by Stuart. He mentions also that there was a Crayon profile by Sharpless, which was esteemed "an excellent likeness with uncommon truthfulness of expression." He merely adds "there was a portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale during the Presidency, which elicited much commendation from Revolutionary worthies." Mr. Custis gives the following as his conclusion: "Our readers may ask, Shall the Standard Portraiture be Equestrian? We reply, to the portrait of one as accomplished a cavalier as Washington, the white charger with the leopard skin housings, &c., would be an embellishment, the chief to be dismounted, with arm resting on the saddle after the manner of Trumbull. But whether equestrian or not, the Americans have the materials for the standard before them in the *head from Stuart* with some slight modifications from the original of 1772, and the *figure from Trumbull entire*."

The peculiar connection and association of Mr. Custis with the illustrious Washington render criticism or comment on his writings exceedingly embarrassing; indeed it may appear presumption to do or say anything calculated to weaken the value of his information, or question the correctness of his judgment and taste, for the public receive with eagerness and gratitude any recollections or descriptions calculated to bring vividly before them the character and personal appearance of one who is ever present in sentiment and thought. It would indeed have been providential had the enthusiastic essayist put an end to

speculation or controversy by pointing out the infallible means of establishing an unquestionable source for the national standard; but unfortunately he has rather complicated the already tortured subject by advocating the expediency of mosaicing three pictures painted by different artists at long intervals, and under entirely different circumstances; a mode of procedure which provokes further research, controversy and dissension.

The establishing of a standard of any national feature, is a very serious matter; but the authentication and erection of a standard image to represent the Nation's Father, is an act of sacred dedication to the claims of eternal posterity. It may be said with profound deference that this is too grave a subject to be submitted to mere recollections, or casual opinions, for although incidents, events, scenes, and even language may have remained bright and clear upon the tablets of a memory three score years and ten, yet the lineal image and the evanescent spirit which flits over the features and consummate character cannot be indelibly impressed upon recollection. Besides, when imagination has been constantly fed by pictures, engravings and other effigies entirely at variance with each other, it must at last elect its own standard, a process which reduces the grand original to an image of fancy, or a creation of art. This was peculiarly the case with Mr. Custis, whose hand had toiled in Promethean labor many years, to give substance and identity to the vision of a dream.

A few comments upon the *modifying* plan adopted by Mr. Custis will suffice to dispose of all similar literary descriptive attempts, and as it is proposed to adhere strictly to facts established by unimpeachable authority, assertion or suggestion will be as much as possible avoided. When it is recollected how seldom there is a coincidence of opinion in speaking of or representing any particular individual of ordinary society even, it will easily be understood, how near to impossible it would be for the loftiest intellect to comprehend and describe so sublime a character and so inscrutable a countenance as that of the immortal Washington, and consequently determine his personal appearance by theoretical analysis and comparison.

The plan of taking the head by Stuart for the basis, the portrait by C. W. Peale painted twenty-three years previous for the modification, and the figure by Trumbull to place the head upon, would necessarily oblige the artist to exercise his conception and judgment to adapt youth to age, and combine the result of one feeble artistic skill with the strong and impulsive delineation of another. If this system be adopted,

the whole craft challenged to compete, and every aspirant privileged to exercise his own powers, there would be more versions of Washington than there were stricken tongues in discordant Babel, for the conclusion of each artist would be as individual as his conception of character and incident and his style of art. This appears not only in the painted and sculptured portraits of familiar celebrities, but is seen in the mechanical transfers of the daguerrean and photographic galleries. It may be said also that the originals are not always good representations in themselves, for the conditions of mind, body, health and even climate change individual aspect and features, and that there is no circumstance so calculated to dispel unconsciousness and alter expression as the assumption of a position in which to be copied for the world to criticise. No plan could be more hopeless than to pick and choose fragments of features and expressions from discrepant images. Even traditional opinions are unavailable, being themselves contradictory and rarely perspicuous. Even those living and those who have passed away, leaving to the future their memories, afford no reliable data except that of mere inference and individual impression. For instance: some say Washington had full light grey eyes; some contend he had small dark eyes, and others are positive he had deep, bluish grey eyes in an enormous space of orbit, with great breadth across the nose; some say he had a very large nose, others a Roman nose. Stuart has made his nose large and fleshy, his eyes large and of a clear blue, and not deeply sunk in the head as others have it. Descriptions of the most reliable character do not dwell upon any eccentricity whatever, but simply speak of his calm majesty of feature, and entire repose of countenance. Mr. Custis said, in remarking upon the various portraits, that the original was fair though considerably florid, the eye sunken and greyish dark blue in color, the expression mild and thoughtful, the whiskers never powdered and of a light brown. Stuart made the hair and whiskers a mass of white.

It would be rather strange if Mr. Custis confounded an early period with the latter days of the illustrious personage, or that Stuart should have been guilty of such a glaring oversight. Still it is distinctly understood that up to the close of the war Washington never wore his whiskers powdered, nor indeed did he use much powder at all, and his hair was dressed after the English fashion, whereas after his election it was dressed in the mode of the French court, the former being arranged with a cue bound with a black ribbon, and the latter with a black silk bag. Notwithstanding that there are numerous contradictions in the

description of his person, features and complexion, there is a general correspondence in the impressions made by presence, deportment, and address. It has unfortunately happened that none of the numerous efforts made to settle these difficulties have taken a comprehensive view of the various phases of the subject; on the contrary, they have all aimed at an individual preference, no one showing any clearer title to reliable authority than their own opinion, based upon limited or solitary facts.

In raising any representation to the immortal position of a national standard, it is a great, if not an indispensable consideration, to determine the most favorable age and most impressive incident connected with that period of his life. He was certainly at the acme of human greatness when closing the last scene of the Revolution; at all events national association and national enthusiasm are constantly emphasizing the conclusion of peace, and his resignation of high authority to seek the repose of domestic life. This is not only an incident dear to the hearts of his countrymen, but it gave an advent star to all humanity, and astounded an incredulous world.

In reviewing the different likenesses, it will be imperatively important to keep in mind that Washington was, by every artist, considered the most difficult subject ever submitted to the skill of the limner; and in addition to this important truth, it will be recollected that in the last century the fine arts had scarcely so much as an infancy in this country, and that even from England, where there was barely the nucleus of a school. Before and many years after the Revolution, portrait painting was the only branch patronized in this country; and even in England, up to the close of the century, it was with very limited exceptions entirely mechanical in its character; one class of artists painted the heads, and another the dress and accessories. C. W. Peale belonged more to the latter than the former class, as is clearly shown in Mr. Custis' favorite portrait painted at the age of forty-one. The gold lace, the coat and buttons are done with the utmost care and imitative skill; but the flesh is dry, lifeless, and inflexible. The face is an irregular oval, the brows are distinctly arched, and lined with penciling formality. The nose would not be remarked for size or the least peculiarity; indeed the whole picture excites no comment, except for the still-life features. The complexion denotes no relation to any particular temperament or constitution. C. W. Peale gave striking evidence of his cleverness in imitating still-life objects in a portrait of himself raising a curtain, palette in hand, and stepping into the long room of his museum in

Philadelphia. This picture was placed in a doorway leading to an upper room, two or more steps projecting in front of the picture, which were so left to aid the deception. At the first glance the illusion was complete; and it was only on a near approach and close examination of the unfleshy character of the face that the cheat was readily discovered.

The full length of Washington by Peale, now in the Patent Office Museum, painted in 1786, is very far inferior to the picture painted in 1772—indeed as a work of art as well as a likeness it is unworthy the least comment. It can be treasured only for the name it bears. Yet in the catalogue of that institution it is termed a grand representation of the original; without this literary index the picture would remain in the obscurity to which its insignificance consigns it.

Trumbull's equestrian picture is very much of the same order of work as Peale's, except that the general effect is more satisfactory, and indicates more capacity in the artist for the treatment of a subject. The form no doubt resembles Washington's; that is, as near as anything can which shows a feeble capacity for the drawing of those parts which enable the painter to give individual language and expression to his art. It might easily be mistaken for any one else of similar height, bulk and shape. The attitude is too common-place and too quiescent for the moment described. It would be difficult to conjecture the motive or state of mind which dictated an attitude so devoid of occupation in the battlefield. The ordinary impression doubtless would be that the great Commander-in-Chief was standing to display his person in tableau or for a portrait. When, therefore, it is known for whom it was intended, the inference necessarily attributes the whole arrangement to the ingenuity of the artist who, in wishing to produce something grand, relied upon his imagination instead of his memory and judgment. The very effort to exalt a sublime subject invariably results in inconsistency; hence, in all the compositions in which Christ is represented, the Divine personage is the most unmeaning character in the group or assembly. The most beautiful heads intended to represent that of our Saviour have been painted from individuals, the expression and position only being the conception of the artist. In a case where the object is present and the most rigid truth is required, and the artist fails, he is either unequal to the task, or he permits his fancy to obscure his consciousness of the present facts.

Trumbull had seen Washington under a variety of circumstances, was one of his aids, and in after life had frequent intercourse with him. It would be supposed therefore that no man could be better fitted to give an

accurate portrait of his person and his features, but he did not possess sufficient talent as a limner to paint a life-like portrait of so majestic and inscrutable an individual as the great Washington.

It is a very unpleasant task to criticise the works of men connected with a proud history, to which the best writers, the most enthusiastic *virtuosi* and the most eminent patriots have contributed their wealth of opinion. Many of these have attached certificates and legends to these questionable likenesses, which substantiate the trite assertion that there is no likeness or work of art too grand to escape censure, or too bad to be without praise. There is a class of critics, and they are the most numerous, who write on art from mere momentary impression, having had no habit of study or thought on the subject to build judgment upon. They, however, direct public opinion. One of these critics in eulogizing a colossal bust of Washington states that the artist was "a melancholy enthusiast, whose thirst for the ideal was deepened by a morbid tenacity of purpose and sensitiveness of heart." This monomaniac, for such from the above it would be inferred he was, produced "the most perfect representation of the man and the hero combined after Stuart's master-piece." The criticism ends with this pithy sentence: "The bust gave Washington a Roman look." Another writer says: "If we wish more particularly to see the graceful play of the lips in the act of speaking, and the peculiar expression of the mouth and chin at the same moment, we shall see it in Ceracchi's colossal bust." The same critic in another place says, in speaking of Stuart's head in the Boston Athenæum: "This last, differing so essentially from all other portraits, has been the cause of all the dissension about Washington's likenesses; although we have not the least doubt the artist gives us a true representation of the man when he sat to him; and thus we explain why we ought to receive *all* these originals as correct likenesses at the time they were taken." This last remark suggests the very familiar criticism: "it is exactly like, but it is a horrid daub." That which makes the resemblance in a horrid daub is the exaggeration of the notable features of the face, because a horrid daub would denote wretched art, or the total absence of art itself. Caricatures are the most recognizable of likenesses, and although offensive to the parties interested, are preferred by the mass of society. Washington was too strongly constituted and too distinctly individual in mind, character and physique, to admit the probability of his appearance undergoing such extraordinary changes. Very few are educated to observe the material form of nature in general, and still fewer to examine understandingly the mysterious variations of the

human face: as for the opinions of people in regard to the features of an absent face, they are utterly unreliable in the most intimate cases. For instance, take those whose opinions have been solicited to decide the excellence of the various likenesses of Washington; the same encomiums, the same prompt recognition, and the same certificates have been obtained for all, yet no two of the pictures have as much as, and certainly not more than a mere family resemblance. The peculiar relations and sentiments toward so exalted an individual, putting aside the difficulty of analyzing and describing features, would cause a material variation of their impressions. One might be a near relation, another an intimate friend, one a companion in arms, another a civil cooperator, one high in rank, another subordinate; one might be bound to him by love, another by admiration or respectful affection, and others by indefinable relations, sympathies and interest, and none so unenthusiastic as to perceive the features only. All these various mediums brought to bear upon a subject confessedly impenetrable, commanding and awe inspiring, render opinions exceedingly variable, if not entirely unreliable.

Trumbull painted a second equestrian portrait of Washington somewhat in a fencing position, the right arm stretched out, holding in the hand a field glass; the figure is poised upon the left leg, the right leg being bent, the left hand rests upon the hip, or hilt of the sword, giving the arm an a-kimbo bend, the chapeau and gloves being between the fingers. The whole pose is artificial, without being dramatically expressive, and did it occur in nature instead of art, it would be difficult to conjecture the state of mind which induced it. There is less significance or extravagance of gesture than is usually displayed on oratorical or theatrical occasions, but more egotistical motive than would be supposed to belong to so grave and modest a hero. To render the composition complete, a charger is arranged broadside behind Washington, in a jumping attitude, restrained apparently by a trooper from making a break-neck leap. The point of sight is very low, bringing the back and foreground in juxtaposition, which affords a view beneath the horse's belly of a conflict ranging in a far distance: these little figures in their incorrect relation to those in front suggest a scene amongst the Lilliputians.

Many fine pictures have been sadly injured by the use of similar cunning devices to tell a story which the principal figures do not sufficiently make known. As a youth, Trumbull was an enthusiastic aspirant for artistic distinction; but his heroic turn of temper caused him to supercede the brush by the sword; he earned the distinction of second aid to his

Commander-in-Chief. In 1777 he returned to the palette, but again resumed military arms, and remained in the army until Sullivan's retreat, when he sailed for England to become a pupil of West. An incident obliged him to return home, where he remained till after the peace, when he again sailed for London, to be under the guidance of his old master. West had established an important era in the fine arts; he was struck with the grand portraiture of Reynolds, and conceived the idea of casting aside the allegorical style derived from the bombastic school of France. The stage had discarded the mock classics also, and adopted the absurdity of dressing the characters of Shakespeare in the peri-wigs, laced coats, breeches and buckled shoes of the day, which were very appropriate in portraiture, but absurd in historic representations. Trumbull, determining to follow West in modern history, adopted the idea of historical subjects of his own country. Like those of West, his pictures were of cabinet size, which suited his eye and hand far better than the life size, as is evident on comparing his picture of Bunker Hill and others with those in the Rotunda of the Capitol; the latter presenting a remarkable instance of the sacrifice of picturesque arrangement and agreeable effect to narrations of incident and personal portraiture. The individuals are disposed with a view to likeness, whereby a monotony of view and consciousness of the object too characteristic of the show room of a professional limner is produced. It is fatiguing also to the attention to observe the strong family likeness between the different objects; the mannerism of the coloring and execution generally reminds the spectator more of the artist than of the person designed to be represented. True art aims to substitute illusion for reality, and the philosophy of art teaches the student the important truth that nature has neither relative excellence nor singularity of style. Artists are allowed a great variety of styles, but the original creator has but one style. Trumbull was merely a follower of others. He did not paint with the impulsive brilliancy of an inventive genius. He composed in imitation of West, and when his subject required variation of rule, he betrayed a deficiency in the higher grammar of art. For instance, his Declaration of Independence is a formal and monotonous arrangement of figures, receiving an equal quantity of light without sufficient aerial perspective to account for the lineal reduction of size. The same tints prevail in every head, and the figures are posed so nearly alike that a casual observer would suppose one person had been used for the model of all. The story is imperfectly told; indeed, it might be mistaken for a Quaker meeting, or any assembly of a phlegmatic character. It is diffi-

cult to realize the sublime inspiration of minds resolved to place name, life and fortune, in peril, ruin, or ignominious death, should the stupendous enterprise eventually fail in its object. Every man, as he walked up to place his name upon the parchment, saw the gallows, or the broken sceptre, in the vision of his soul. They dared the vengeance of a powerful monarchy; yet not one hand trembled, nor one pen quivered or blotted the vital instrument; even old age and infirmity strove to make legible the signature the palsied hand could hardly trace. Never were fifty-two autographs more firmly or clearly written, and if marks of the pen indicate power and will of mind, then were these signers the boldest and firmest of the earth, or the most inspired of heaven.

In the formal row of heads and legs so conspicuous in the picture, it would require an extraordinary imagination to realize the spirits that were hurling defiance at the gigantic parent of an empire. In looking at so tame an illustration, memory falls to sleep, and the grandeur of the incident is forgotten in reading the obscure language of an imperfect art.

The resignation of Washington is another of Trumbull's national pictures. This profoundly touching subject presents to the artist illimitable scope for eloquence of expression, dramatic beauty and effect. The simple mention of the subject in history is enough to thrill every fibre of the heart, and it would seem, that on reading the following graphic description, the artist's soul would dilate with inspiration. "The moral grandeur of the scene, and the patriotic exultation it was likely to call forth, could not suppress a feeling of tender melancholy on beholding that connection dissolved, which had been the source of national pride and glory; and many of the spectators yielding to this emotion melted into tears. The principal actors themselves, General Washington and the President of Congress, General Mifflin, were almost overpowered by their feelings."

The closing act of this great drama made a deep impression on the whole American nation. Here stood before the world's eye one who had broken the chains of tyranny, and formed a vast nation out of colonial fragments, and who commanded the hearts of a devoted army, which was prepared to crown him monarch or dictator. This majestic hero had but a few days previously, with tearful eyes, called around him the companions of his toils and dangers to press them to his heart, and bid them farewell, a word none could utter, but they turned in sorrow, one from another, many for ever. Having broken up his military family, he hastened to Congress to surrender the slender com-

mission he had received eight years before, with crushing responsibilities, without means, and a half starved, naked and undisciplined army; a commission now covered with glory and immortal fame. No combination of circumstances and events could render man a more sublime spectacle, or a grander subject for epic history or picture. The hand of genius would have portrayed the emotions of the actors, and rendered their thoughts and language readable to the hearts at least of the commonest natures. The tame representations, placed as national records in the Capitol of the nation, are calculated to depress taste and sentiment, rather than excite admiration and emulation; and the feeling of reverence is lost in the painful criticisms they excite, which must produce towards illustrative art an apathy, if not disgust.

That Trumbull gloried in his reminiscences and appreciated his subjects with worthy sensibility, there can be little doubt, yet he lacks the means of conveying his thoughts and feelings upon a scale so grand. Enthusiasm is too often mistaken for the inspiration of genius, and the desire to execute is confounded with the excitement of power to perform.

The pictures are treasured as a catalogue of good likenesses, while they are condemned as master-pieces of painting, but they are as questionable in one case as in the other, for it is notorious that Trumbull was not an accurate delineator of the life, except as a mere generalizer of the person and features. It would be impossible for a sculptor to model a life-like head from any of his portraits, which he could successfully do from many by Stuart, and nearly all by Vandyke or Lawrence.

Stuart's portrait of Washington has become the national standard. His fame in England, and the fact that his picture was engraved by the famous Heath of London have eclipsed the pretensions of all who have painted portraits of the illustrious subject. There are several versions of the history of Stuart's performances, and as they have at different times varied, and as the most recent is not creditable to the honor of Stuart, it will not be inapposite to add another, which was received from the great artist's own lips; yet as many years have elapsed, and it differs so entirely from a published account, memory is a little timid, and were there not a very cogent reason for giving it publicity, silence would still retain an unbroken seal. Many of the most interesting points in history have originated in oral legend.

The writer alluded to says: "This last, it appears by a letter of Mr. Custis which we have examined, was undertaken against the desire of Washington, and at the earnest solicitations of his wife, who wished a portrait from life of her illustrious husband to be placed among the

other family portraits at Mount Vernon. For this express purpose, and to gratify her, the artist commenced the work, and Washington agreed to sit once more. It was left *intentionally unfinished*, and when subsequently claimed by Mr. Custis, who offered a premium upon the original price, Stuart excused himself, much to the former's dissatisfaction, on the plea that it was a requisite legacy for his children." The other version is, that when an agent came from New York to propose to Stuart the purchase of his unfinished original head of Washington, Stuart promptly refused, and said it should never pass from his possession during his life. He then stated that he was commissioned to paint a full length from life, for the nature of the engagement is not strictly remembered, but during the progress of the picture, or immediately after he had made his study of the head, some unhandsome equivocations arose respecting the terms, and he consigned the picture to his closet, swearing he would never touch brush to it again.

If Stuart made use of the paltry subterfuge ascribed to him to secure an inheritance for his children, the time had arrived when he was offered \$4,000 for it—and he could not have hoped that in any event it would bring more, as the *first* original was extant. Besides, at this time, he was in actual want of the necessities, or at least the comforts of life, being sorely afflicted with the gout, and unable to draw an adequate income from his very casual professional labors. That some unusual occurrence checked his brush is clear, for the unfinished state of the picture detracted materially from its value. Had he designed this portrait for the object stated, it would have reached a *national value* by being an entire figure and perfectly finished, and would then undoubtedly have been an heir-loom productive of fortune, instead of a legacy too trifling to secure to his family more than a paltry pittance. It may be suggested that Stuart was not a provident man, that his tastes were expensive, and his temper subject to violent caprices, yet he was an exceedingly proud man, and incapable of an act disgraceful to him as a gentleman. It is true he could resent a wrong or slight with a violence incompatible with good taste. His stamping upon the portrait of Jerome Buonaparte, and refusing to finish or part with either that or Madame Buonaparte's, because the prince came an hour or so behind his appointment, is entirely characteristic of his indisputable pride. Numerous anecdotes of the same kind, related of him by his friends, show that some such difficulty prevented the completion of Washington's picture. It is really too much of a scandal to admit that Stuart engaged the offices of Mrs. Washington to press her husband to sit once

more to gratify *her*, designing at the time to use her as a tool for his own purposes, and thus subjected the illustrious lady to a humiliating mortification, and himself to the forfeiture of the esteem of the great and good Washington.

Stuart failed in his first picture, a circumstance most extraordinary for him. It is rarely a confident artist does himself full justice if his first impulse proves abortive. In art the first conception is the most natural and beautiful; hence a sketch often has more eloquence than an elaborate work. The greatest, or rather the most brilliant efforts of very many men of genius, have been realized by the first intention, as it is technically termed. Failure is extremely depressing to proud and sensitive spirits; so is disapprobation or persecution; and there is generally an ebullition of temper when either occur. Poets and painters especially suffer intense wretchedness when severely criticised or abused. Yet there are memorable instances of their outshining themselves when goaded by the merciless critic or aroused by the throes of ill fortune.

No hardships are more dispiriting to professional men of genius than submission to conventional opinion, and dictation of subject or style. Neither of these however need excite wrath, for a graceful manner may control without wounding the pride or the feelings. Yet the artist at once surrenders his own original conceptions, and becomes a mere illustrator of the ideas of another. This may probably apply to the case of Stuart when he was aspiring to the immortality of a happy association with the name of the great Washington.

When the artist beheld that noble face deprived of much of its grandeur and means of characteristic expression by the loss of teeth and the substitution for them of an artificial set, he was filled with painful regret; yet, loving nature more than art, he desired to portray that glorious face even in decay, and requested that the teeth should be removed; this was opposed by the family, and in such a way as to render the indomitable energies of Stuart evanescent. He painted a portrait and destroyed it; he began a second, and it is said, placed wads of cotton in the cheeks above the mechanical teeth to distend the muscles relaxed by destroying the natural teeth. These fabrications of an unskillful dentist were too short and too full for the mouth, and gave to the jaw a squareness perfectly unnatural, and deforming to the whole lower part of the face. The fine nervous lines of the lips were destroyed, the muscles of the cheeks and jaw were thrown out of play as by physical dotage, the firm yet curved lip was

flattened and no longer eloquent in its expression. The soul looked bright though tranquil through the deep, lustrous eyes, and the brow retained the features of majestic thought; but the mouth, that great organ of the mind, was deprived of its means of beautiful expression, if not of much of its articulate utterance.

The friends who opposed the removal of the artificial teeth were sensible of the loss to that grand face of an essential part of its speaking beauty; they vainly hoped to remedy the deficiency by trying to force the lips to their original lines with the substitute furnished by the bungling dentist. The great artist, full of awe and admiration of the illustrious patriot, necessarily felt that he had missed his hour; he also felt that his genius was high above all those who had enjoyed more auspicious opportunities; yet, that strong as was his will, faithful and masterly as was his hand, even the tyros of art would dispute his claims to an isolated greatness, on the ground that they had enjoyed the full advantage of nature in perfection, while he was required in order to be truthful to commemorate the defects of age; art, itself, being powerless to overcome an incidental defect.

The head in the Athenæum of Boston is the third and last attempt by Stuart, and is more carefully modelled than nearly all the copies he made of it. It has not so much of his bold, free handling; indeed the execution is rather close and less fleshy than his very best pictures, which are remarkable for brilliancy of color and effective manipulation.

The impression received by foreigners and disinterested connoisseurs is that Stuart's picture does not convey the idea of intellectual greatness, or moral vigor of character. The expression has the stolidity of mental drowsiness or old age, which is greatly owing to the too faithful representation of the artificial defects. The position of the head is very unfavorable to a true showing of the features, the left wall of the face and that side of the nose being in comparative shadow, which prevents the nice definition of parts so important to the expression of the whole. Instead of the light falling upon the mass of the head, which would display the facial lines of the features, it strikes upon the side averted; the shadow, therefore, obscures the nostril, the fine side lines of the nose, the seating of the brows and the inner corner of the eye. The orbit of the eye is remarkably large, which brings the cheek bone into great prominence; it is, therefore, fully described on the left side, but on the right is entirely flat. This strange inconsistency in the drawing argues a decided want of presence of mind, or that there was some unusual disturbance of it. The execution is very methodical. Still his

peculiar handling is not as perceptible as in the generality of his works. This head, though finely colored and dignified in air, is in effect far inferior to many of his best portraits. The want of spirit, the want of liveliness of hand, the strange drawing of the right cheek, the absence of the characteristic expression, together with the remarkable stress laid upon the artificial defects of the mouth and chin—the latter in particular—forcibly suggest that Stuart painted under circumstances greatly to his disadvantage. The distortion of the fine, firm, well-formed mouth was sufficient to excite despair, and it is clear he had no favorable opinion of the skill of his predecessors, or he might have remedied the evil by borrowing from them.

It is told of this great limner that he was never embarrassed in the presence of any man or society, but that when Washington entered the room to take his seat, it was with the greatest difficulty he could command sufficient presence of mind to begin his task. In addition to this drawback, he found it impossible to excite in the least the attention or interest of his sitter, the consequence of which was that he failed in his first picture, and destroyed it; and it was only toward the close of his final attempt that, after exhausting his fine colloquial resources, he recollected Washington's fondness for fine horses. Stuart was peculiarly eloquent on this topic, for he had indulged almost to excess in a Nimrod love of the chase while in England and Ireland. The General grew animated with the discussion, and the artist endeavored to convey the lively emotion to his canvas, but it was too late; the work was almost finished, and it was impossible to infuse in the completion that which should have been secured in the inception. The full-lengths by Stuart are rarely referred to as types of the original, for that of Trumbull, having the advantage in outline and proportion, is invariably selected. This accounts for its recommendation by Mr. Custis for the figure of the "national standard."

Stuart's professional education extended very little beyond heads; for, although his powerful mind and extraordinary facility of pencil could have carried him to higher walks, his larger pictures indicate no habit of complicated study. His compositions assimilated to the English versions of Vandyke, with their theatrical formulæ. For instance; in a full-length portrait there must be one or more columns, with a curtain waving around like a half-furled sail in a gale of wind, looped up with a cord pendant, with gold or silken tassels. This was the back or middle ground arrangement, which was generally broken up by a piece of dirty blue sky, crumbled over with inflamed clouds. In the fore-

ground was a table, covered by a richly worked cloth, gathered up at one corner into profuse folds which hung down by the figure of the portrait. On this table were scattered in picturesque confusion manuscript, pens and ink, books, and if at all consistent, a cocked hat. On the other side a carved chair, gilt or polished, the floor covered by a nondescript carpet; the whole forming a rich variety, both of objects and colors. This is pretty much the composition in Stuart's full-length portrait of Washington in civil costume. His picture in Fanueil Hall is an out-door scene, and represents an incident which occurred more than twenty years previous to the time of the sitting; yet there is very little, if any, variation in the age. The figure resembles that by Trumbull. The design is very curious, and suggests to the mind a show advertisement of a horse, with his tail where his head should be, as is literally the case in this picture; for in the foreground, and in advance of Washington, is the globular rump of a fat horse. The General has his left hand resting upon the saddle, and the head of the horse is in the middle ground. It is said that this expedient produced a fine breadth of light, which counterbalanced the gloom of the sky and distance, whilst the round lines of the hind parts of the brute were consistently repeated in the curling clouds behind. This refinement of art does not reconcile the untutored eye to the close proximity of the posteriors of a horse to the head and person of Washington. Besides, the position for an equestrian is very questionable, since he appears to give up his command of the charger to show himself to the limner or spectator, which is not characteristic of the great original, or consistent in a field of battle.

The statement has been ventured, perhaps not very publicly, that Stuart's great genius is less evinced in his portraits of Washington than in any of those he painted in his palmiest days. This is not difficult to comprehend, and it is purely a question of expediency whether to condemn them, or to permit them to retain their high position. One very strong provocation to elect a substitute is that they are easily caricatured, and as the mass of art duplication is of this description, it seems advisable to hold up to the world an image more just to the grand original, and more in accordance with the description given of his noble face and form.

Rembrandt Peale labored forty or fifty years at this idea, which took such possession of Mr. Custis. He painted a portrait in 1795, and from his own account he had three sittings of three hours each from life, which would appear to be sufficient for a small bust portrait. Yet he said he finished it without Washington being present, against which his father several times protested, saying that he had "better let well

alone." At this time Peale was little more than a youth. That he was not satisfied with his effort is shown by his working upon it so restlessly from memory, which would have been unnecessary had he been content with his work from the life. This argues inferiority of capacity, or a want of dexterity of hand, or both, for nine hours is an ample time in which to complete a portrait of that size. It is no more than rational to suppose that he could have worked with better success from the object than from his mere memory of it. If he could not, with his limited talents, describe the features in nine hours, it would be difficult to conceive that he could do any better in double that length of time, and certainly no better in the absence of his sitter. He frankly acknowledges his discontent at the effort he made; and subsequently not only changed the style, but altered the view and light and shade of the face to resemble the original picture, undoubtedly the juvenile effort of a frenzied eye, rather than that of a calm and disciplined perception. He could not, eagle-like, take note of objects invisible to the ordinary sense. His eye and hand were untaught, except so far as his father's meagre instructions assisted him. He says it was the dream of his boyhood to paint the portrait of the great man upon whose birthday he was born. He painted ten copies of his original, and they disappeared, like all bad pictures, until time and their name, as with old wine, brought them forth as providential relics, but he as industriously labored to supersede them as he endeavored to eclipse that by the immortal Stuart.

Peale's mania for reproducing Washington again broke forth about 1825, when, as he states, "he assembled in his painting-room every portrait, bust, medallion and print of Washington he could find, thus to excite and resuscitate his memory of the original. After vigils, intense studies and probings of memory, he succeeded in producing the picture now in the United States Senate Chamber. In 1825 or 1826 he took this picture to Boston, where he exhibited it, first in his own room, then in the Athenaeum, in opposition to Stuart's Fanueil Hall full-length. Many no doubt gave Peale's the preference.

So it may be inferred, that in a medley of dyspeptic opinions he had a share of advocates, yet not as great a portion as when he had it in his own apartment, with the advantage of his enthusiastic interpretations; for, as in an oft-told tale the narrator changes places with his hero, Peale believed piously what he said, in reply to inquisitive interrogatories, that his extraordinary success could be accounted for in no other way than by "divine inspiration." He really believed this picture to be a *fac-simile* of Washington, as he saw him in his father's

painting-room. It would seem rather strange that with divine assistance he should have had need of the pictures, sculptures and engravings of every other artist by which to awaken his somnolent memory. Ordinary logic of an ungenerous nature would attribute Peale's picture to the congress of effigies which he assembled in his studio, rather than to the resuscitation of a forgotten image. That which memory recalls through an artificial medium is usually shaped and tinted by the speculum through which it is seen. This great original of Peale, in spite of the inspiration and severe travail which gave it birth, remained for many years in the artist's hands, when, after it had received the advantage of an European tour, and the support of various certificates, it was purchased at a cost of \$2,000 by Congress.

It is gravely recorded that there is a wonderful likeness of Washington on the side of a mountain rock at Harper's Ferry, which is instantly recognized when pointed out, and rendered very impressive by a singular superstition. Children often believe in the eyes, nose and mouth of the moon, and many have fancied they have seen the man there who was spirited up for picking sticks of a Sunday; and others who are more than children have, in looking through a telescope, seen so obediently as to distinguish the sheep or cattle browsing on the Luna mountains, when told by the showman they were surely there. No organ is so credulous as the eye, because the imagination is continually peering through it.

Rembrandt Peale's portrait is distinctly, by his own showing, a composite order of likeness, varying entirely from his real originals. A few years ago a correspondence took place respecting the discovery of a portrait of Washington, in the course of which the picture was identified as one of the three copies he made of his veritable original in Baltimore. Previous to ascertaining this fact, the possessing party sought to sell it to the Federal Government as a sacred treasure. Its ultimate fate is not recollected. Mr. Peale did not appear to interest himself in the affair, for his affections were doubtless entirely concentrated upon his new original.

The venerable artist gave continued evidence of professional assiduity, particularly in the promulgation of his labors upon the duplication of his Washington effigies. It was with many a subject of regret that he devoted his whole life to such an arduous pilgrimage, as the detraction from public confidence of works contemporary with his own, especially that by the great Stuart. There can be no doubt concerning the honesty of his motives; yet there are those who regard his efforts after

glory as selfish attempts to make fortune out of veneration or patriotism, although he may have been unconscious of the fact; but it is much more generous, and doubtless more just, to ascribe his singular ideas of originality to an unaccountable imagination, of which his history by himself affords presumptive evidence.

"Mrs. Peale," the artist says, "with tears upon her cheeks, implored me to let Washington alone, for the excitement would cause my death." In another instance, this lady heard shrieks and groans issuing from his studio, which created intense terror. She flew to the door, but found it locked. Her imploring calls to her husband being unheeded, she had the door broken open, and upon rushing in, found the artist panting and nearly breathless upon the floor! Upon recovering, he explained his condition to be the effect of his conception of a scene for a picture; that when he reached the exact moment his horror was uncontrollable. It was Virginius in the act of stabbing his daughter! This was not madness—it was simply a mind off its balance, or too great an excess of imagination. The singular feature of this eccentricity is that his imagination never aided his brush; for he had to quiet down before he could execute his work, and then he grappled his subject imitatively.

The painters already named are the most popular competitors for the honor of having supplied or contributed a national standard for the likeness of Washington, and it would be a loss of time, and an useless distraction of attention, to allude to the rest who have made efforts without enviable result. Pine and Sharpless are perhaps the only other artists deserving notice, but neither have contributed successfully to the great object in view. Indeed it was almost unnecessary to review the artists already named, but at the same time, as there has been but one side of the subject published to the world, and as the mass of society have no time or inclination perhaps to explore the ground, it is deemed expedient to call attention to the subject generally, so that the facts may be compared side by side. The only motive for thus taxing public patience is the firm belief that there is a true life-like image of Washington, and that it is due to posterity and the great Washington himself to establish the authenticity of this image, and therefore put an end to all further contest, speculation and imposition.

The most authentic likeness is a life-size statue by Houdon, made in 1785 from casts taken of the head and whole person of Washington. The obscurity in which this extraordinary relic has remained is owing to the fact that it was executed for his native State, and has been preserved

at a distance from any center of observation, and that the people of a new country have had little attention to bestow on art. At the close of the war a resolution was passed by Congress, ordering the erection of an equestrian statue in honor of General Washington, but no further steps were taken to carry it into effect. When the Legislature of Virginia convened, however, a resolution was passed to have his image made out of the finest marble, and by the most eminent sculptor of Europe, and an appropriation of one thousand guineas was voted. This was about one-half the amount of the value of such a work, and was made in ignorance of such matters, there being no guide except the known cost of a statue in Williamsburg of Lord Botetourt, which was about this amount, although a very ordinary specimen of sculpture. No doubt the great value of money, owing to the emptiness of the treasury, some idea of which can be formed by reading the following warrant of the first instalment, had something to do with this oversight :

"Warrant to Thomas Jefferson, Esq.

"Saturday, October 30, 1784.

"Out of the first money that shall arise under the law for recruiting the States quota of men to serve in the continental army, for the purpose of procuring a statue of General Washington.

"By order of the Executive, £550 Sterling."

Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were charged with the commission, and at once determined to offer it to Houdon, who was pronounced the greatest statuary of modern times. This sculptor studied in Rome, where he made two statues, one of St. John and one of St. Bruno, which were purchased at the instance of the Pope, and placed in juxtaposition with the genius of ancient Greece. He had discarded the conventional art of the day, and substituted for it truth of nature, and the Greek rules of classic beauty. He was an eminent anatomist, and made the famous anatomical statue which laid the foundation of the new school of Europe. When Jefferson reached Paris, Houdon was engaged upon works for nearly every court of Europe, and he gave considerable offence by yielding to Jefferson's solicitations to undertake the statue of Washington. The Empress of Russia, who had given him some very important orders, was exceedingly incensed when he made application to be released from the engagement, and expressed considerable indignation at the idea of his, as she said, "risking his life in crossing an ocean to make the statue of a colonial rebel."

The following is the resolution passed by the Legislature of Virginia:

"The initiatory steps taken and final action of the legislature relative to the erection of the monument to Washington. Journal of the House, May 15th, 1784.

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up an address to his excellency General Washington, expressive of the thanks and gratitude of the House of Delegates for his unremitted zeal and services in the cause of liberty, congratulating him on his return to his native country and the exalted pleasures of domestic life.

'Committee appointed, Messrs. Ronald, Mann, Page, Hubbard, Henry, Tazwell, Heath, Roan, Taylor of Caroline, Cary and Corbin.

"Ordered, That it be an instruction to the same Committee to consider and report what further measures may be necessary for perpetuating the gratitude and veneration of his country to General Washington. * * * *

"Resolved, That the Executive be requested to take measures for procuring a statue of General Washington, to be of the finest marble and best workmanship, with the following inscription on its pedestal, viz: 'The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected as a monument of affection and gratitude to George Washington who, uniting to the endowments of the hero the virtues of the patriot, and exerting both in establishing the liberties of his country, has rendered his name dear to his fellow citizens, and given to the world an immortal example of true glory.'"

The Executive caused to be sent a copy of the picture of Washington by C. W. Peale, which was designed as the material from which the statue should be made. No sooner did Houdon see this picture than he rejected all thought of relying upon any such work, and told Jefferson it would be absolutely necessary for him to see Washington himself. Both Franklin and Jefferson rejoiced over this unexpected sacrifice, although it involved additional expense. Jefferson wrote at once to the Governor to communicate this agreeable information, and was in return congratulated on having made so happy a negotiation. A difficulty arose, however, which rendered the enterprise somewhat doubtful. Houdon was entirely willing to sacrifice himself, but he required a given sum to be secured to his parents and sisters in case he should be lost at sea. Jefferson wrote to Adams on the subject to obtain insurance in London upon Houdon's life, to continue from month to month until his

return to France. This was happily effected, and Houdon sailed from England with Franklin. Jefferson had previously written to Washington the following letter :

To General Washington, from Jefferson, dated Paris, July 10th, 1785

"Dear Sir: Mr. Houdon would much sooner have had the honor of attending you, but for a spell of sickness, which long induced us to despair of his recovery, and from which he is but recently recovered. He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalry in it, being employed from all parts of Europe in whatever is capital. He has had a difficulty to withdraw himself from an order of the Empress of Russia; a difficulty, however, that arose from a desire to show her respect, but which never gave him a moments hesitation about his present voyage, which he considers as promising the brightest chapter of his history. I have spoken of him as an artist only; but I can assure you also that, as a man, he is disinterested, generous, candid, and panting after glory; in every circumstance meriting your good opinion. He will have need to see you much, while he shall have the honor of being with you, which you can the more freely admit, as his eminence and merit give him admission into genteel society here."

In writing to the Governor at the same time, he said Houdon had acceded to their terms, although he was confident he would be a considerable loser. Jefferson wrote also to the Virginia delegates in Congress, relying upon them to bring up the subject of the equestrian statue. He tells them of the glory it would be to have the work done by so great an artist; one who was entirely without rivalry.

When Franklin and Houdon arrived in Philadelphia, Washington wrote the following letter:

From General Washington to Benjamin Franklin.

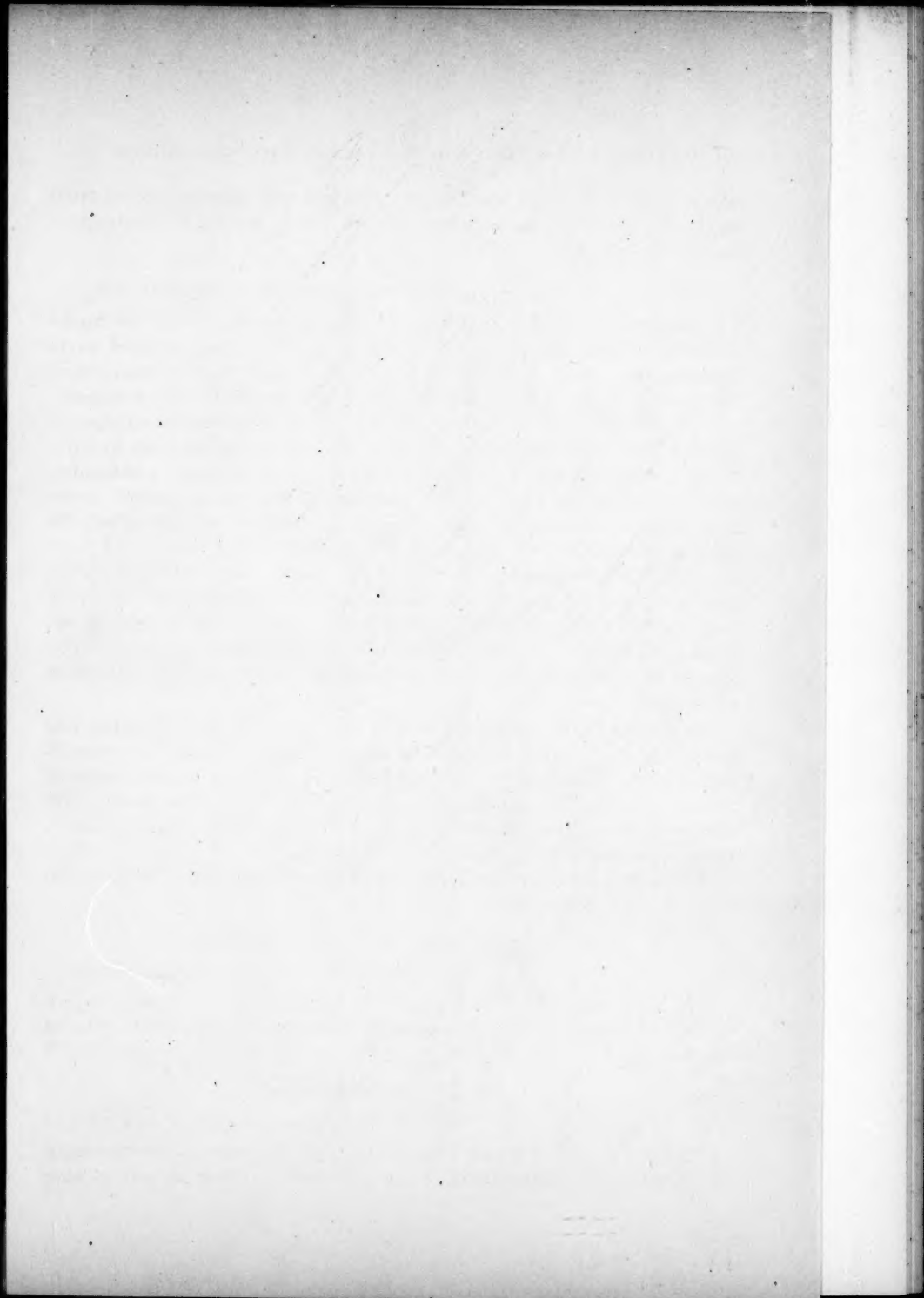
"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"When it suits Mr. Houdon to come hither, I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able, and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can." * * * *

From Washington to Houdon.

"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"Sir: By a letter which I have lately had the honor to receive from Dr. Franklin at Philadelphia, I am informed of your arrival at that

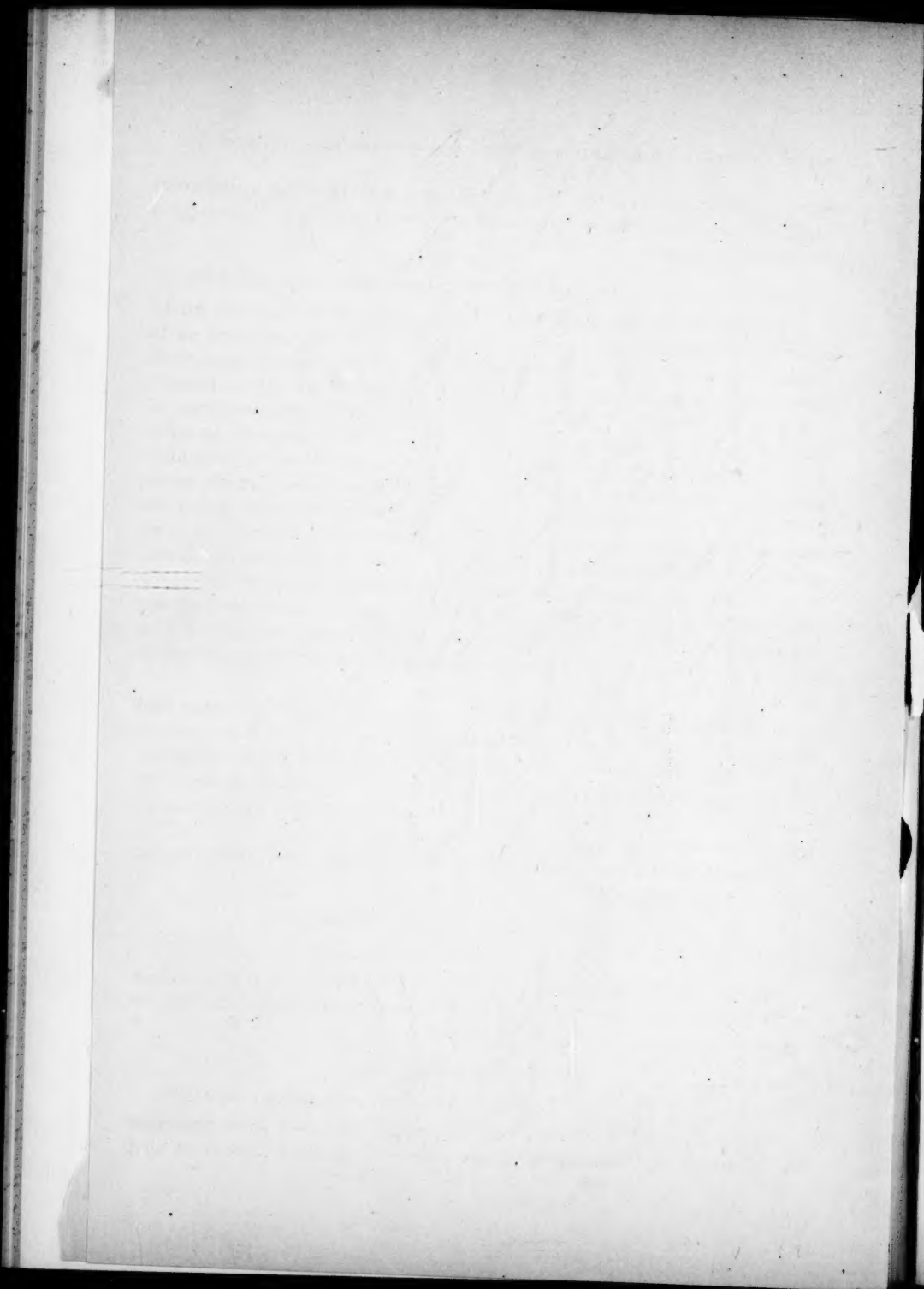


1796	Wm Comstock Corp	To G. Stuart	—	\$
Nov 1797	To one Portrait of said W ^l		—	\$ 100-
July 4	" one of the late President of the			
	United States at full length	—	—	5 00
	" one of half length	—	—	2 50
				<u>\$ 8 50 Dollars</u>

Philadelphia 13 July 1797. Received of

1. Rich Jackson Crig through the hands of
John Vaughan Crig the above sum in full
of all demands against them and the
abovementioned Wm Comstock Crig
4 Stuart

Dimensions given up by Mr. Stuart
5 feet x 8 feet
3. 4 - 5. 3



place. Many letters from very respectable characters in France, as well as the Doctor's, inform me of the occasion for which, though the cause is not of my own seeking, I feel the most agreeable and grateful sensations. I wish the object of your mission had been more worthy of the masterly genius of the first statuary in Europe, for thus you are represented to me.

"It will give me pleasure, Sir, to welcome you to this seat of my retirement; and whatsoever I have or can procure, that is necessary to your purpose, or convenient to your wishes, you must freely command, as inclination to oblige you will be among the last things in which I shall be found deficient, either on your arrival or during your stay. With sentiments of esteem, I am, Sir," &c.

From Washington to Thomas Jefferson.

"Mt. Vernon, September 26th, 1785.

"I shall take great pleasure in showing Mr. Houdon every civility and attention in my power during his stay in this country, for I feel myself under personal obligations to you and Dr. Franklin (as the State of Virginia has done me the honor to direct a statue to be erected to my memory) for having placed the execution in the hands of so eminent an artist, and so worthy a character." * * *

Washington received Houdon at Mount Vernon with great cordiality and distinction. The artist no sooner beheld his subject than his admiration exceeded all anticipation. He said: "It is well that I went; for although I had conceived him to be an imposing personage, I had no idea of the grandeur and majesty of his form, features and presence." He solicited Washington to submit to having casts taken of his head and figure, which was at first refused with great repugnance, but so completely did Houdon win the regard of his illustrious host that he finally replied: "Do with me what you please; I can refuse you nothing." The scrupulously modest Washington did submit to be laid nude upon a table, and buried in plaster from head to foot. Houdon remarked after the operation: "I shall transfer him to marble just as he is, for he is too grand a subject to submit to the embellishments of fancy or art." In packing up his moulds he separated those of the *head*, and retained them in his own possession, intending to precede his assistants, which excited some surprise, and in reply to the question as to his motive, he said: "If they are lost in the ocean, I am determined to perish with them." Jefferson mentioned that Houdon built up his

statue perfectly nude, which is evident from the clearly defined characteristic anatomy, and to secure entire accuracy of the features he forced the clay into the mould of the head, thus insuring the exact reproduction of the original. He made a clay bust in the same way, which he presented to Washington as a memento of his gratitude. This bust is still at Mount Vernon, but it is by no means a correct representation of what it was when made, for it has been cast from, broken, and bunglingly repaired. Besides, in the drying, clay shrinks to a sharpness, both unpleasant to the eye and untruthful to the original.

When Jefferson first saw the statue in progress, it was entirely constructed, but perfectly nude, and he expressed infinite surprise at the individuality of the air, position and features, exclaiming: "I should recognize any single part if the rest were concealed. As for the attitude, it is perfect, and I have seen him assume it on all important occasions; indeed, it is as perfectly characteristic as though it were the man himself."

Washington wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette: "I have now to thank you for your favors of the 9th and 11th of July; the first by Mr. Houdon, who staid no more than a fortnight with me, and to whom for his trouble and risk in crossing the seas (although I had no agency in the business) I feel myself under personal obligations."

When Lafayette last visited this country, his first request upon landing was to be shown some likeness of his illustrious friend. He was taken to see Stuart's, but he shook his head, for he had not seen in the original the inroads of age and deformity. He was then shown Trumbull's, and at once said: "That is his figure; I should recognize it anywhere readily." But when he arrived in Richmond, Virginia, he eagerly went to the capitol to confront Houdon's marble statue, and a large concourse of people accompanied him. He stood mutely before the statue a long time, and silence became sympathetic. He at last said—the tears falling down his cheeks: "*That is the man himself. I can almost realize he is going to move.*"

The facts connected with this priceless relic are incontrovertible history; there is no scope for opinion except in ignorance, malice, or envy. Criticism in a general point of view is futile, or should be so; for whatever may be said respecting the composition, it can be nothing against the great sculptor, or truthfulness of the likeness, for he had the choice of arranging only the accessories, which the commissioners thought essential to the expressing a sublime truth. They designed to commemorate the incident of Washington's tendering back his commission.

Houdon desired to illustrate this on the pedestal. Still the composition as it is forms a completeness and harmony very grateful to the artistic mind. The statue represents him the moment after performing this emphatic act. He had but just resigned his military commission, which the yet gloved hands indicate. The stick of the civilian tells that the act is performed. The insignia of office rest upon the emblem of union bound in peace. The plough in the rear speaks of his future pursuits in retirement. The position of the figure is that of dignified ease; the head is slightly elevated by the reverence of the heart, and the far-seeing wisdom of the mind: the whole air of the person and face are remarkable for quiet majesty and holy repose.

This noble statue is not a subject for fanatical prejudice; the critic is not required to dissect it for conventional comparison. Its truth to material nature is its merit, and its integrity to the incident it commemorates is its moral importance. If the dress appear strange to the eye trained to fashion or classic rule, it reminds the reflecting that it is from the identical dress worn on the impressive occasion the statue was designed to chronicle, and if this does not satisfy the critic, the fact that it was Washington's own choice must close all sceptical lips upon the point forever.

Freedom of act, speech and thought, together with the sanction of humbug, subject the most sacred subjects to detraction. It would be remarkable, then, should this glorious statue from the life escape factional censure. Indeed attempts have already been made to deprive it of its historical reputation for truth. Several articles have appeared in newspapers of this description. The Washington Star had one, which purported to be an account of an adventurous visit to the foundry or Mr. Clarke Mills. It says: "To Mr. Mills falls the singular good fortune of having it in his power to furnish what alone will give his work inestimable value." He continues: "But now comes out the most singular fact of all. Who has not felt a sense of dissatisfaction at the narrow, retreating forehead and perked up chin of the Houdon statue, all questioning being debarred by the assertion that the head was an exact copy from life? Such is not fact. Houdon, following the wretched taste of his time, must needs alter his divine model, and give to Washington the features and port of the effeminate, sensual royalty of that day, namely, the narrow forehead, wide, heavy jowls, and thrown up chin and nose. Providentially the original head from the cast, though overlooked, has been preserved intact, and is now in the hands of the artist, tremblingly alive to its priceless value as the only true representation of Washington

in existence." This writer professed to have his information from Mr. Mills' own lips. In another instance similar authority asserts that "Mr. Mills said he found, in an attic at Mount Vernon, the moulds that came off Washington's face." This is a more mischievous presumption than the former one, because it is barefacedly false in its facts. The most absurd feature in this assertion is that Houdon should have come to this distant country to obtain that which he left behind, and which he said he took in his own charge, that if it were lost he would perish with it.

Houdon was the most eminent anatomist of his day, and had no rival in his art. He was employed first at Rome, where the master sculptures of the world stood in proud beauty, and two of his works were placed in their midst. His statue of Voltaire, with which many Americans are familiar, is the most notoriously characteristic likeness in the world. He had commissions from every court of Europe. He left honors and munificent patronage to cross a stormy ocean to make a statue of a "colonial rebel," and for a compensation not equivalent to the time lost and the marble he had to purchase. He made casts of Washington's head, body and limbs, and reproduced the original by forcing his clay into the moulds. He made the Mount Vernon bust in this way, but he took the moulds, Jefferson says, in his own charge, not wishing to trust them even to the hands of his faithful assistants.

A few years ago a beautiful statue of a female was discovered in Paris, and its extraordinary grace and chastness of taste created a vast excitement. After many vain efforts to discover the author, it was traced to Houdon, and is esteemed a type of the most beautiful art in Europe.

It may occur to many that some severity of criticism has been used in examining the likenesses by different artists; but it must be recollected that national art should have no weakness, and that it would be imbecile kindness to fasten upon the country and its art examples calculated to deprave taste, or at least to prevent that intellectual excitement positively essential to lofty and successful emulation.

The disinterested and the truly critical cannot but perceive and feel the extraordinary poverty of genius exhibited in our national art.

WILLIAM J. HUBARD

NOTE.—The foregoing essay was read before the New York Historical Society some years ago, and is now published for the first time.

EDITOR

ROBINSON'S HOUSE IN THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS

THE HEADQUARTERS OF WASHINGTON

Around the Beverley House, as it is called in the neighborhood in which it stands, centres the story of the treason of Benedict Arnold. In the beautiful old mansion, which now, with its Venetian awnings and brilliant parterres, forms such a bright picture nestled among its trees on the Garrison's road, was hatched the crowning details of the scheme that was to annihilate at one fell blow all hopes of the independence of the Colonies. From that house, when the scheme had failed, and death and dishonor stared the traitor in the face, he sped his wild flight to the enemy; and there, too, a few days later, was brought his unfortunate accomplice and victim, the man, whom nature and fortune combining to favor, was yet led by fate to an early and ignominious doom.

Beverley Robinson, the proprietor of this estate, has been well described as a gentleman of high standing. His father, the Hon. John Robinson, President of the Virginian colony on the retirement of Governor Gooch, and afterwards Speaker of the House of Burgesses, was a friend of Washington during the latter's earlier years, and is still remembered as complimenting him, from the chair, in brief but eloquent terms, on his mingled modesty and valor. The son, entering the army, resided in New York, where he married Susannah Philipse, the great grand-daughter of Frederick Philipse, the founder of the Sleepy Hollow church, and co-heiress with her sister of the immense estates possessed by that family on the Hudson. Among the lands acquired by Robinson through his marriage with Miss Philipse was a tract about four miles square, included within the boundaries of what now is Putnam County, bordering the river on one side, and here he built his house, sometime about the year 1750.¹

The old mansion, the last relic of its owner, whose name was once potent in the Highlands, and around whose roof-tree many remembrances cluster, stands about a mile below Garrison's Station on the east side of a road leading to Peekskill. The house, which is in full view from the highway, consists of three buildings joined together, extending east and west and fronting towards the south. Nearest to the road is that portion of it, one story high, which constituted the farm house.

Next to this are the main buildings, each two stories high, the one furthest towards the east being considerably higher than the others. A piazza surrounds this last structure on the north, east and south sides, extending along on the south side of the central building, in which the large dining room is located.

Chance and judicious care have united in preserving the interior of the old dwelling almost unchanged. The low ceilings; the heavy, uncovered joists; the fire-places without mantel shelves; the staircase with its short flights of steps and broad platforms, all carry the mind of the visitor back to former days. Nor are traces wanting of its Revolutionary occupants. In the wood-work of the chimney-piece in the room which was used by General Arnold as a bed chamber, is cut in large letters, "G. Wallis, Lieut. VI. Mass. Regt." About fifty rods north of the house, on the opposite side of the road, there formerly branched off another road which wound down in a southwesterly direction to the river, where a dock, some parts of which yet remain, served as a landing place for the estate.'

Here, in this secluded retreat, dispensing an elegant and generous hospitality, and the master of every comfort to be desired, Robinson dwelt in happiness during the years when the troubles between the colonies and the mother country were arising; and here he was living when the storm, which had been so long gathering, burst forth.

It has been said that Robinson was strongly disinclined to take any part in the contest. Though opposed to the idea of separation from Great Britain, he was also opposed to the measures of the Ministry. Either way he wished only to be allowed to remain in the enjoyment of his country home. That this was his inclination is certified to by the unimpeachable Whig testimony of Timothy Dwight, and it is further borne out by the traditions of Robinson's descendants. On the other hand the Minutes of the Committee appointed for "Enquiring into, Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies," held February 22, 1777,' show how strongly his sympathies were with the Crown from the first. Previous to this date he had held some correspondence with the Committee of Safety in regard to the proposed erection of fortifications on Martelaer's Rock, in the river opposite West Point, and now, the time being come when he was required to take a decisive stand, he refused to subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the State. Soon after, with his family, he repaired to New York, leaving the Highland home in which he was destined to dwell no more, though, if tradition is to be believed, when the British moved up the Hudson after the fall of Forts Clinton

and Montgomery, he took the occasion to visit for the last time the house where he had passed so many years. Deserted by its owner, and that owner in arms for the enemy, the mansion came to be used as public property by our officers. Generals Putnam⁴ and Parsons made their headquarters there in 1778-79. Washington appears there on the 31st of July, 1780, and there, five days later, Arnold took up his abode, having been appointed by General Orders of August 3d to the command of the Post of West Point and its dependencies.

It has been stated on good authority that Arnold was in communication with Robinson before he came to West Point, and it has been supposed by a very accomplished historical scholar that a letter said by Marbois (*Complot d'Arnold et de Sir H. Clinton, &c.*) to have been found among Arnold's papers (which letter was the first overture received from an agent of Clinton) was written by Robinson. Be this as it may, it is certain that the first open negotiations with the British were conducted by Arnold through Robinson, ostensibly with regard to the confiscated estate of the latter, and it was the sagacity and prudence of Robinson as well as his local knowledge of the people and the country, that proved so useful to our foes in the affair, and led to his accompanying André in his expedition up the river in the *Vulture*.

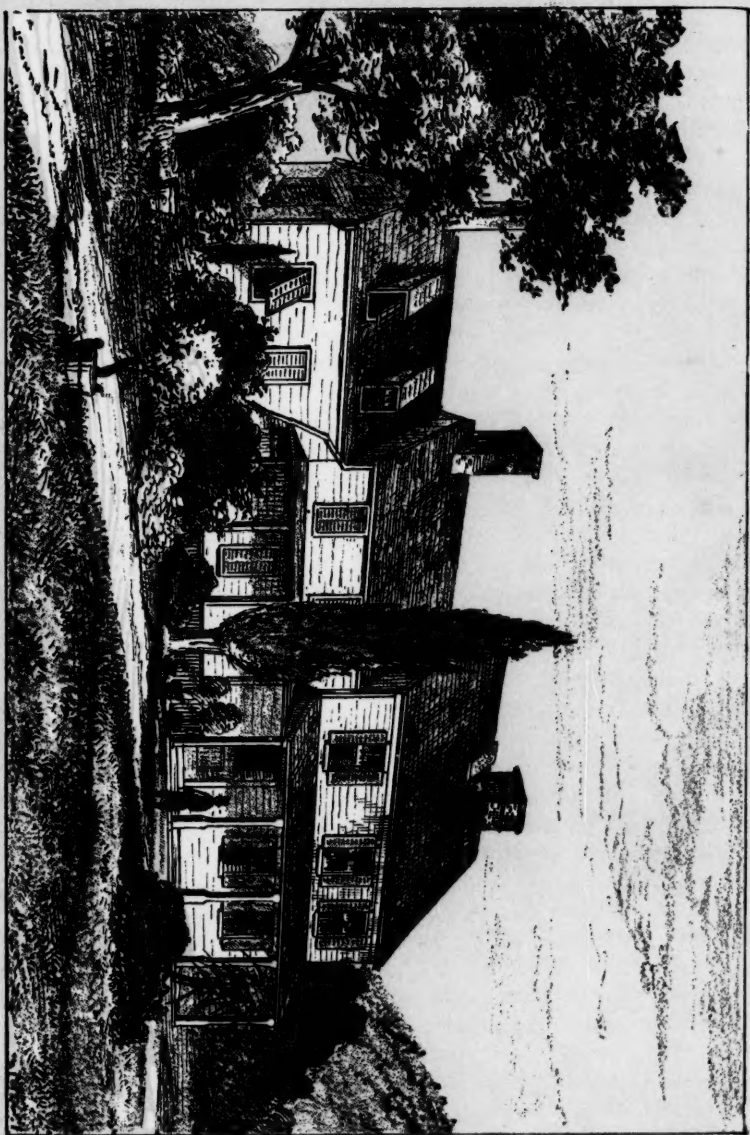
Arnold went from the Robinson House, on the 21st of September, to Verplanck's Point, crossed to Haverstraw, and at midnight held his interview with André among the firs in the gloomy thicket at the foot of Long Clove Mountain. The next day he returned to his quarters, leaving André at Joshua Hett Smith's residence, the "White House" two miles and a half below Stony Point. André, attempting to make his way down on horseback through Westchester County, was captured about eleven o'clock in the morning of Saturday the 23d. Jameson's letter announcing the event reached Robinson's House early on the following Monday, and was delivered by Lieutenant Allen to Arnold while he was at breakfast with his aides. Astounding as the information must have been, Arnold's self-control did not forsake him. He had no time to lose. Washington had arrived at Fishkill on his way from Hartford, and was hourly, indeed, momentarily expected. Rising calmly from the table, he begged his guests to excuse him, saying that he was compelled to cross over to West Point, but would shortly return. Summoning James Larvey, the coxswain of his barge, he ordered a horse to be brought. "Any horse," he said—"even a wagon horse!" He then went up to his wife's room, and, in a few words, told her that his life depended upon instant flight. Overcome by this information, she

screamed loudly, and fell to the floor in an hysterical fit. Bidding the maid, whom the outcry had brought, to attend to her mistress, he left her, and stopping only to say in the breakfast room that his wife had been taken suddenly ill, he mounted the horse at the door and started for his boat, lying at the Robinson dock. The regular road to the river side, as has been said, led off from the main road some little distance above the house. To have taken this would have consumed time, besides rendering him liable to be met by Washington and his suite, who would approach the house by this way. He took a short cut instead. A former occupant of the house used many years ago, to point out the path the traitor took. A little south of the house was a gate leading into a cleared field. Through this Arnold dashed, and "crossing the field in the direction of the river, passed through a second gate on its west side, entering the woods on the brow of a very steep and abrupt descent. Plunging down it on a gallop, he came into the road to the water a few rods north of the dock." Springing into his six-oared barge, he told the men that he was bearing a flag to the Vulture, and that they must pull him to the vessel with the greatest haste, and two gallons of rum should be their reward. The oarsmen, said Washington, "were very clever fellows, some of the better class of the soldiery." They rowed hard, and it probably took but a little time to traverse the twelve miles or more between Beverley Dock and Teller's Point, and to place the fugitive in safety on the deck of the Vulture, under the protection of the British flag.

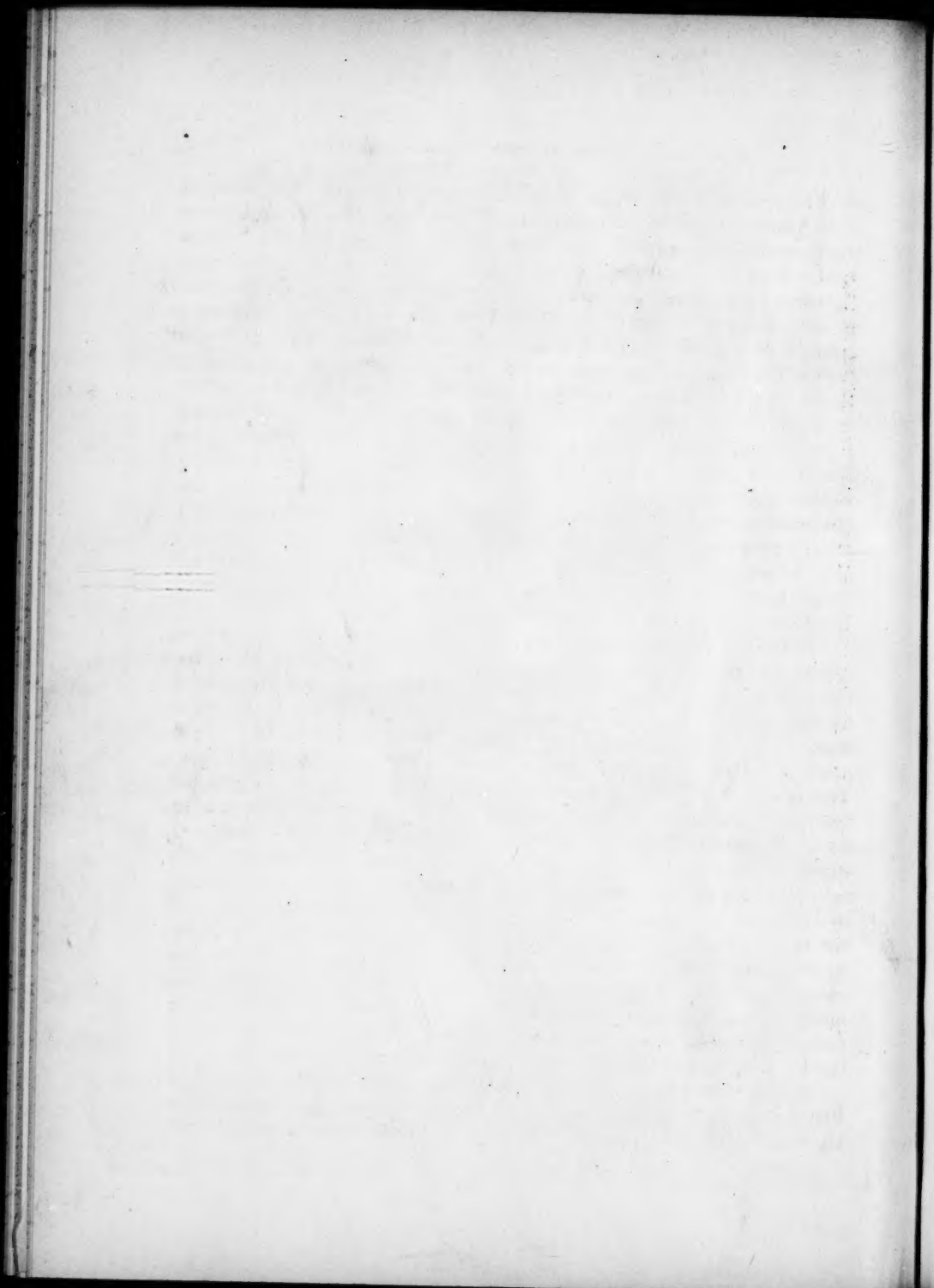
On Washington's arrival at the house, and discovery of the treason shortly after Arnold's flight, it was resolved if possible to intercept the traitor on the way, and his aids, Hamilton and McHenry started at once on horseback for Verplanck's Point, but Arnold had the start of his pursuers some six hours, and long before they left the house he must have been under cover of the Vulture's guns.

Mrs. Arnold, meanwhile, remained in her room in a state described as bordering on frenzy. "The General," wrote Hamilton to Miss Schuyler, "went up to see her, and she upbraided him with being in a plot to murder her child. One moment she raved, and another she melted into tears." "We have every reason to believe," continued Hamilton, "that she was entirely unacquainted with the plan; and that the first knowledge of it was when Arnold went to tell her that he must banish himself from his country and from her forever."

We have not the space here to enter into a discussion of the question



THE BEVERLEY ROBINSON HOUSE—GARRISON'S, N. Y.—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.



of Mrs. Arnold's knowledge of her husband's schemes. The opinions of historians generally have acquitted her of being an accessory to the treasonous plot, despite the assertion of Burr that she told Mrs. Prevost "she was heartily sick of the theatricals she was exhibiting," and had, by "great persuasion and unceasing perseverance," brought the General into an arrangement to surrender West Point to the British. That she came of thoroughly Tory stock, and was the personal friend of Major André is undeniable, but it seems to be balanced by the evidence of Major Franks, of our army. Franks was one of Arnold's aides, and because he was charged with the duty of attending on Mrs. Arnold, was popularly known among his fellow officers as "the nurse." He states that Arnold could not have ventured to trust her, as she was subject to attacks of nervous indisposition, when she would give utterance to anything and everything that was in her mind. "This," said Franks, "was a fact well known to us of the General's family, so much so as to cause us to be scrupulous of what was told her, or said within her hearing." Other facts have been cited in her favor, which, carefully weighed, certainly go far to establish her innocence.^a

On the morning of Tuesday, the 26th of September, 1780, Major John André was brought to Robinson's House, in pursuance to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. "That he may be less liable to be recaptured by the enemy," Washington wrote to Jameson, "who will no doubt make every effort to regain him, he had better be conducted to this place by some upper road, rather than by the route to Crumpond." This order, dispatched at seven o'clock in the evening of the 25th, was the second one issued. The bearer of the first reached the Gilbert farmhouse, at South Salem, where the prisoner was confined, about midnight. André was in bed, but at once arose, and hastily dressing himself, prepared to obey the summons. The night must have been a dismal one, indeed, for the unhappy captive. It was intensely dark, and the rain fell in torrents when he set forth with his escort. At North Salem meeting house they met the second messenger ordering the change of route. The party, accompanied by Major Benjamin Tallmadge, Captain Hoagland and Lieutenant King, rode through the night, making as few halts as possible, and wet and travel stained, arrived in the morning before the Robinson House door.

Joshua Hett Smith, who had been arrested by Colonel Gouvion at Fishkill the night before, was already brought there. If his account of his own reception on reaching the house is to be credited, he was "par-

aded before the front door under a guard," and Washington coming out on the piazza interrogated him with great sternness. Smith's fears suggested the poet's lines—

*"Si fractus illabitur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae."*

He pleaded in justification of himself that he had been only acting under the orders of General Arnold, and that, if anything was wrong, he was responsible. "Sir," answered Washington, "do you know that General Arnold has fled, and that Mr. Anderson, whom you have piloted through our lines, proves to be Major John André, the Adjutant-General of the British army, now our prisoner? I expect him here under a guard of one hundred horse, to meet his fate as a spy, and unless you confess who were your accomplices, I shall suspend you both on yonder tree!" pointing to a tree before the door. "He then," says Smith, "ordered the guards to take me away." About two hours after this Smith said he heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and, soon after, the voice of André mingling with those of Washington and others, but here Smith was altogether wrong. Washington saw Major Tallmadge, and asked him many questions, but he declined to see the British Adjutant-General, and Tallmadge always believed that, "incredible as it may appear," Washington and André never saw each other.

The most famous of Washington's biographers thinks that the reason why the General refused to see André was apparently from a strong idea of his moral obliquity, deduced from the nature of the very nefarious business in which he had been engaged, and the circumstances under which he was taken. But in truth this theory is hardly tenable, at least it is not reconcilable with the sentiments regarding André afterwards expressed by the American Commander. It is more reasonable to suppose that Washington's course in the matter was actuated by a nice sense of the etiquette of his position, rather than by any personal enmity to the man. The interview of James II. and the Duke of Monmouth has been cited by General Charles J. Biddle, in his elaborate review of André's case, as containing within itself what seems to be the real explanation.

That evening André and Smith were taken from the Robinson House across the river to West Point. On the evening of the 28th Washington left Robinson's for the camp at Tappan, whither the prisoners had been conveyed some hours before. On the 29th he issued from his headquarters at Tappan his instructions to the Board of Officers, and from the same place his evening orders of Sunday, October 1st:—

"Major André is to be executed to-morrow at twelve o'clock precisely ; a battalion of 80 file from each wing to attend."

The execution over he did not return to his Highland quarters, but moved southwards towards Paramus and the Passaic Falls.

Robinson accompanied the commissioners sent by Sir Henry Clinton to confer with General Greene at Dobbs' Ferry on the subject of André's sentence, and with the closing scenes of that story his name ceases to appear in connection with the war. At the peace he went to England with a portion of his family, where he lived in retirement. He received from the British government the sum of £17,000 sterling, which was considered only a "partial compensation" for his wife's share in the Philipse estates.

Beverley Robinson died at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, in 1792, aged about seventy years. His son of the same name, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of his father's regiment, and who is designated in the Confiscation Act as "Beverley Robinson the younger," died while on a visit to his relatives in New York in 1816. His grave stone in St. Paul's churchyard on Broadway bears the inscription:—"Sacred to the memory of Hon. Beverley Robinson, late of Fredericton in the Province of New Brunswick. Born 1754; died 1816." A son of this latter was the late Beverley Robinson of the New York Bar.

In a sketch of the history of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, the Rev. Beverley R. Betts, a descendant of Colonel Robinson describes the arms of Robinson, which he states was a Yorkshire family: ARMS, *Vert on a chevron between three roebucks trippant, or, as many trefoils slipped gules.* CREST, a roebuck trippant, or. Motto, Propere et Provide. The cut illustrative of this article is taken from a book plate which belonged to Beverley Robinson, a maternal ancestor of the Rev. Mr. Betts, to whose courtesy its reproduction is due.

Sir Frederick Philipse Robinson, the last surviving son of Colonel Beverley Robinson, died at Brighton, England, on the 1st of January, 1852, at the age of eighty-seven. He was an officer of the British army in the war of 1812, and at the close of hostilities he made a visit to the old house in the Highlands where he was born and where his early years were spent. A nephew relates that "he wept like a child as he saw and recollected the spots and objects once so familiar to him."

Robinson's House, confiscated by Act of the State of New York, was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeitures, and at the present time forms part of the estate of the Hon. Hamilton Fish, whose own summer residence is in the vicinity. The house has had many occu-

pants. Lieutenant Thomas E. Arden of the United States army resided here for many years, and earlier in the century it was for a time the home of Henry Brevoort. It was while Mr. Brevoort was living in the house that he made the fishing excursion with the elaborate equipment alluded to by Irving in the "Angler" paper in the Sketch Book. A few miles above the house a mountain brook, flowing through the woods and falling at last over a pile of mossy rocks into a deep glassy pool in a dell near the road, forms the beautiful "Indian Falls" so well known in the country around. Thitherward did Mr. Brevoort betake himself from the Robinson House one morning bent on angling. "He was attired," said Irving, "cap-a-pie for the enterprise. He wore a broad-skirted fustian coat, perplexed with half a hundred pockets; a pair of stout shoes and leathern gaiters; a basket slung on one side for fish; a patent rod, a landing net and a score of other inconveniences only to be found in the true angler's armory. Thus harnessed for the field he was as great a matter of stare and wonderment among the country folks, who had never seen a regular angler, as was the steel-clad hero of La Mancha among the goat-herds of the Sierra Morena." But "after all," said Irving with sly humor, "he caught less fish than did a lubberly country urchin who came down from the hills with a rod made from the branch of a tree and a pin for a hook!"

The location of Robinson's House is in the very heart of the finest scenery of the Hudson, embosomed among the forest-clad hills and surrounded on all sides by objects which recall the contest for American independence. At the edge of the lawn rise abruptly the steep and rugged sides of Sugar Loaf Mountain, commemorated by President Dwight who ascended it in 1778, while stationed at West Point as chaplain to a Connecticut regiment. From the top the eye takes in a view described by Dwight as "majestic, solemn, wild and melancholy," but which, however, has undergone great change by the hand of cultivation since his time. Looking far northward the river is seen widening into broad Newburgh bay, beyond the peak of Storm King, on whose rounded summit beacon fires were wont to blaze of old. Nearer, outlined against Cro' Nest, is West Point, overlooked by Redoubt hill and the grey walls of Fort Putnam; whilst at their feet in the river are the woods of Constitution Island. Within these woods are the mouldering ruins of the fortifications projected at such a vast expense and with so little benefit by the engineer, Bernard Romans, whose folly in erecting a fort on a place lower down than any of the surrounding grounds was

severely commented on by the military men of his day. Part of the barracks of these useless works now serves as a kitchen to a pretty cottage which peeps from among the trees on the southern shore of the Island—the home of the accomplished authoress of the "Wide, Wide World." Between Constitution Island and the Robinson House the



vision roams over a wide extent of woodlands, the estates of the Kembles, Philipses and Gouverneurs, grounds once familiar to the tread of the Continental soldiery. The picturesque little church of St. Philip's, built of late years on the site of one where Washington attended, is seen; and, skirting it, the pleasant river road winding in places between tall hedgerows and garden walls and under the shade of lofty trees. For mingled beauty of scenery and charm of historical association there is scarcely a fairer or more interesting spot to the eye of an American than the old Revolutionary quarters of Washington in the Highlands.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

¹ A diagram of Robinson's property in the Highlands is in Blake's History of Putnam County, N. Y., 12mo. 1849.

² I am indebted to Mr. Stevens for calling my attention, whilst engaged in writing this article,

to an interesting account of a visit made to the Robinson House by one of the West Point Board in 1840, which appeared in the Knickerbocker Magazine for September of that year.

³ The Minutes of this Committee are preserved in the headquarters at Newburgh.

⁴ Thompson's Long Island says that General Putnam's wife died in the Highlands in 1777, and "was interred in Beverley Robinson's tomb."

⁵ Major Franks, according to J. Francis Fisher (Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. for 1869-70) was a son of David Franks, a very rich Philadelphia Jew, one of whose daughters married a De Lancey and another General Sir Henry Johnston. The late Gouverneur Kemble, in a letter dated at Cold Spring in 1873, says that Lady Johnston was the authoress of the Loyalist poem, "The Times." An anecdote recorded of her by General Scott shows her Tory proclivities. At a ball given by M. Girard in honor of the alliance between the United States and Louis XVI. she caused the token of alliance (a black and white cockade) to be tied to a dog, and, by a bribe to a servant, had the animal thus decorated turned into the ball room. Franks' testimony concerning Mrs. Arnold is in the privately printed preface to the Shippen papers. In considering his evidence his Tory connections should be taken into account.

THE SAINT-MÉMIN WASHINGTON

This engraving now presented is from a crayon drawing of the head of Washington in profile belonging to Mr. James Carson Brevoort of Brooklyn, Long Island. It was drawn by Mons. Jules Févret de Saint-Mémin, a French refugee, who, during his residence in the United States, between the years 1796 and 1810 supported his family by drawing and engraving small profile likenesses, which were highly prized for their minute accuracy. He engraved upwards of eight hundred such portraits of gentlemen and ladies in our chief cities, from Boston to New Orleans.

While residing in Philadelphia in 1798 he must have seen Washington, who was there for a short time in November of that year. There is no evidence proving the portrait to have been taken at an appointed sitting, but the peculiar talent of Saint-Mémin in seizing a correct profile likeness was no doubt exercised on this occasion.

These facts lend a singular interest to this sketch, which was purchased from the late James B. Robertson, an English printseller, who had visited Dijon, France, expressly to purchase the collections left by Mons. de Saint-Mémin, who died there, aged eighty-two, on the 23d of June, 1852.

The original sketch is half-life size, in black crayon on reddish paper, the material used by this artist. Saint-Mémin no doubt intended to engrave it, but the only engraving of Washington in his collection was very small, oval in form, hardly half an inch in height, and differing from this. The following letter from Mr. Robertson to Mr. Brevoort, who purchased the portrait, authenticates its genuineness:

NEW YORK, November 27, 1860.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your note of the 24th instant, referring to the Crayon Profile Portrait of Washington in military dress, drawn by M. de Saint-Mémin, now in your possession, I can only state that I obtained it in November, 1859, at Dijon, in France, from M. de Juigné, the heir and nephew of the artist. At the same time I acquired the complete collection of his engraved portraits, 818 in number, as mentioned in M. Guignard's memoir, among which is one engraved from the above mentioned drawing. M. de Juigné informed me that he had heard his uncle remark that Mr. Jefferson considered it one of the most accurate likenesses that had ever been executed.

I remain, yours, most respectfully,

JAMES B. ROBERTSON.

J. Carson Brevoort, Esq.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

The plan of de Saint-Mémin was novel. The portraits were first drawn by what the French call the *physionotrace*, and then engraved. This process was invented in 1786, and had great success at Paris, but was unknown in America until introduced by Saint-Mémin. The construction of the *physionotrace* was simple, that of the *pantograph* by which the outline was reduced offered but little difficulty. The real trouble was the engraving process. The industry and genius of Saint-Mémin finally simplified even this difficulty, and he was able to sell the original drawing, of life-size, in black crayon on red paper, framed, the reduction on copper, and twelve proofs, for the sum of thirty-three dollars.

The entire collection of engraved plates, from which the heads were struck by Saint-Mémin, was purchased by Elias Dexter, and an edition printed from them in New York. The profile now reproduced was also engraved by him in 1866. In addition, an excellent photograph was taken, of which a few copies were distributed by Mr. Brevoort to his friends, with an explanatory memorandum, from which the above account has been chiefly taken by the kind permission of this distinguished and liberal gentleman.

A pleasing memoir of Saint-Mémin,* by M. Ph. Guignard, Librarian of the City of Dijon, was published in that city in 1853, a copy of which Mr. Brevoort also possesses in his invaluable collection.

EDITOR

* Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Févet de Saint-Mémin par Ph. Guignard, Bibliothécaire de la Ville de Dijon, correspondant du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, 8vo, pp. 22. Imprimerie Loireau-Feuchot. Dijon, 1853.

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

THIRTY

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME
PUBLISHED

1781

XC

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

(Circular)

Head Quarters, New Windsor
Janry 23d 1781

Dear Sir

I have received the disagreeable intelligence that a part of the Jersey Line had followed the example of that of Pennsylvania and when the advices came away it was expected the revolt would be general—The precise intention of the Mutineers was not known; but their complaints and demands were similar to those of the Pennsylvanians.

Persuaded without some decisive effort at all hazards to suppress this dangerous spirit, it would speedily infect the whole Army, I have ordered as large a Detachment as we could spare from these Posts to march under Major General Howe, to compel the Mutineers to unconditional submission, to listen to no terms while they were in a state of resistance and on their reduction to execute instantly a few of the most active, and most incendiary Leaders—I am not certain what part the Troops detached for this purpose, will act, but I flatter myself they will do their duty—I prefer any extremity to which the Jersey Troops may be driven, to a compromise.—

The weakness of the Garrison, but still more its embarrassing distress for want of Provisions, made it impossible to prosecute such measures with the Pennsylvanians, as the nature of the case demanded—and while we were making arrangements as far as practicable to supply these defects an accommodation took place, which will not only subvert the Pennsylvania Line, but have a very pernicious influence on the whole Army—I mean however by these remarks, only to give an idea of the miserable state we are in, not to blame a measure which perhaps in our circumstances, was the best that could have been adopted.—The same embarrassments operate against coercion at this moment, but not in so great a degree. The Jersey Troops not being from their numbers so formidable as the Pennsylvanians were.—

I dare not detail the risks we run from the present scantiness of supplies—With flour we are only fed from day to day—We have received few or no Cattle for some time past, nor do we know of any shortly to be expected. The salted meat we ought to have reserved in the Garrison is now nearly exhausted—I cannot but renew my solicitations with your State to exert every expedient for contributing to our immediate relief.

With perfect respect

I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys

Most Obt. H'ble Servant,

G. WASHINGTON

His Excellency,
Governor Nash

XCI

From the Clinton MSS. in the New York State
Library, at Albany

Head Quarters,
New Windsor, Feb'y 8th 1781

Dear Sir

I have been duly honored with your Excellency's favor of the 31st of January—I have also conversed with your Brother on the temper and disposition of the Troops of New York; and from his representation am led to expect, the discontents among them, which were so happily suppressed will not revive again.—

With respect to the mode your Excellency recommends for employing the Invalids of the New York line, I have the honor to observe—that altho, the forming these men into a Company under supernumerary Officers, Might be attended with some good consequences, Yet I conceive (besides being contrary to the spirit of the late Establishment of the Army, by which all Independant Corps are reduced) it would not, on every consideration, be an eligible measure.

If the men are proper subjects for the Corps of Invalids, they are not to be discharged on any pretext whatever. If they are so entirely useless as to be discharged, and are reinlisted by any Recruiting Officer—by the printed orders on that subject, he will inevitably incur the loss of all the expence and bounty paid to such Recruits.

I will only add that from long experience, I have almost invariably found Independent Corps to be such an imposition upon, and moth to the Public,

that I cannot consent to give any countenance to the revival of them.

I have the honor to be

With great esteem & respect

Your Most Obed. Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency Gov. Clinton

XCII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters
New Windsor Feb 13 1781

Dear Sir

I have received your letters of the 15th of December and 4th of February.

I have been for some time past expecting the Commissary of Prisoners at Head Quarters; but he only arrived yesterday. I shall speak to him on the subject of your Excellency's letter, and shall do every thing in my power to have justice done to the State. 'Tis no doubt reasonable it should be informed of the steps taken with regard to its prisoners, and I shall endeavor to settle a plan for this purpose.

With respect to the Militia taken in arms they have at all times had the same privileges of exchange with the Continental troops—the invariable rule of which has been priority of capture. This being the case, it is just that all persons taken by the Militia in arms also, should fall into a common stock to be disposed of by the same rule: For without this, there would be an evident disadvantage to the Continental troops, as the captures made by them go equally to the relief of the Militia as of themselves, while the captures made by the

Militia would be confined to their own exclusive benefit.

With respect to those not taken in arms—mere citizens—on both sides, it is certainly just and agreeable to rule that those belonging to each State should have an absolute preference in the exchange of those captured by that State, to all others. With the greatest respect & esteem I have the honor to be

Your Excellys

Most obed servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency William Livingston
Governor of New Jersey

I have recd yours of 28 Jan'y

XCIII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters

New Windsor 1 March 1781

Dear Sir,

Having been informed by Major General Dickenson that he was vested with power, during the recess of the Legislature, to order out the Militia of the State, I have thought it expedient to desire him, at this juncture, to order the whole to be in readiness, and to direct the Beacons and other signals of alarm to be put in condition to afford the speediest communication to the Country of an incursion of the enemy. My reason for doing this—is not from intelligence that the enemy mean anything offensive, but having lately been under the necessity of making a very considerable temporary detachment from the Army in this vicinity and from the Jersey Line, I think it not improbable that the enemy may endeavor to take advan-

tage of our weakness and enterpose something against these posts in Jersey. It is therefore necessary to be in readiness to receive them. I assure myself of every assistance from the countenance and advice of your Excellency should there be occasion.

With Very great Respect

I have the honor to be

Yr Excellency's most obed servt

GO WASHINGTON

Yr Excellency favor of the 24th inst is just come to hand.

His Excellency

Govr Livingston

XCIV

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Duplicate

Head Quarters New Windsor
March 23 1781

Dear Sir,

I was honored on my return from Rhode Island with your Excellency's Letter of the 1st inst together with the enclosures.

Altho the discharging a single man from the service is a very inconsiderable diminution of our force; Yet when the innumerable applications on this subject are taken into consideration, the unavoidable decrease of our Army if discharges are granted, the amazing difficulty of procuring men for the war, and the heavy expence attending the recruiting service:—it cannot certainly be considered as a hardship, to retain them in service, who were fairly enlisted, and with a large bounty—unless able bodied substitutes are procured in their room. Under this condition, I would

consent to the dismissal of Robert Skekit: otherwise it would be opening a door of uneasiness to others, and doing an essential injury to the Public.

If the presence of Skekit is so necessary with his Tribe, upon providing a substitute for the War: the Commanding officer of the Regt may make the exchange.

I have the honor to be

With great regard and esteem

Your Excellency's most

obed & humble servt

GO WASHINGTON

N. B. The original is supposed to have miscarried in the last mail.

His Excellency Govr Livingston

XCV

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

New Windsor Mar 24th 1781

Dear Sir

On my return from Newport 4 days since I found your favors of the 21st & 27th ulto at my Quarters

I do not see that it is in my power to give any immediate relief to Doctr Lewis. If he is considered as a prisoner of War (and the circumstances of the case only, which are unknown to me can determine this) you must be sensible that a resolve of Congress and the invariable practice of the Army are opposed to his being exchanged out of turn— If on the other hand he is viewed in the light of a Passenger and Citizen. I know not at this time (but will enquire of the Comy of Prisoners) if any character in our possession, who will apply in his Exchange, even if priority of Capture, in this case also

should not be opposed to it— Upon a full view of the circumstances as far as I have knowledge of them, it appears to be one of those cases which come more properly before the State of Virginia than the United States, till the whole business of Exchange goes through one channel; which is far from being the case at present, as the States individually give up no advantages they obtain by captures to the United States, though they are very frequently applying for them,—especially in difficult cases.

It is a much easier matter for Congress, conformably to the wishes of the distressed States to call upon me to afford them aid, than to furnish me with the means of doing it— The report of the Com'ee alluded to in your letter of the 21st—may be adduced in proof of it. I had however previous to the receipt of the resolve of Congress (consequent of Col. Harrison's representations of matters to the Southward or knowledge of his being at Philadelphia) adopted the temporary relief which is now in operation— But—

It is a misfortune which seems to attend all our measures to do things unseasonably or rather to neglect the critical moment to do them.— Had the French commanders at Rhode Island complied (in the first instance) with my request to send the whole Fleet, and a detachment from their land force to Virginia the destruction of Arnold's Corps must inevitably have been completed during the debilitated state of the British Fleet.— The enterprise now is bold & precarious— rendered more so by an unfortunate & to me unaccountable delay of

Private.

Private

twenty-four hours in their quitting Newport after it was said they were ready to Sail.— The wind & weather being as favorable to them & as adverse to the enemy, in Gardner's bay, as the powers of the Air could devise,—but it ought to be our policy to make the most of their assistance without disgusting them by our censures or reminding them of their mistakes.—for this reason it is I inform you in confidence that upon the first certain advice of the injury sustained by the British Fleet, I proposed the expedition to Portsmouth, to consist of the whole fleet and a detachment of Land forces from both Armies; assuring them that nothing could be done to effect without a co-operation by Land and Water— accordingly, that no time might be lost in waiting their Answer I set about the formation of my own detachment & had marched it off before I knew that a Ship & two *frigates only* without Land Troops had left Rhode Island, and which had it not been for the accidental meeting of the *Romulus* & the Vessels under its convoy, wd have returned as they went—

The critical situation of affairs in Virginia, and North Carolina, produce anxious moments; and we wait impatiently for decisive accts— God grant they may be favorable to us—but the face of things is much changed since my first proposing the Expedition to Portsmouth: at that time the French were decidedly superior in their Navy—now they are unquestionably inferior — &

should they get first into the Capes & be able to maintain a position in Hampton Road they will not have it in their power to prevent succours landing at Lynhaven bay—or Willoughbys point: If Clinton can afford such a detachment as will be able (with the cooperation of Arnold to force its way from thence to Norfolk in spite of the opposition which can be given by the French Troops and Militia) for their Frigates will stop at water transportation in the bay consequently fix the Marquis' detachmt at Annapolis or compel them to a long & tedious Land march.—

I was very glad to hear of Mr Morris' appointment & wish he may accept it; but cannot by any reasoning I am Master of acct. for the postponing the choice of the Minister of War: which in my opinion is of all others the most essential; & ought least to be delayed.

I was much pleased to hear that Virginia had given up her Claim to the Land West of Ohio—that the confederation was completed—and that the State seemd disposed to grant more competent powers to Congress—without a controuling power in that body, for all the purposes of war, it will be impossible to carry on the War— the reasons are many & conclusive—but the want of room will not allow me to enumerate them, at this time— The most import. are obvious—the noncompliance with the recomns of Congress in some States the unseasonable compliance in time and manner by others—the heavy expence accumulated thereby to no purpose—the injury to come, & the jealousy of all the States proceeding from these causes with the consequent dissatisfac-

tion in people of every class from the prolongation of the War, are alone sufficient to prove the necessity of a controlling power— Without it & speedily we shall be thirteen distinct States; each pursuing its local interests, till they are all annihilated in a general crash of them. The Fable of the bunch of Rods or sticks may well be applied to us.—

I am Sir Affecty Yrs

G. WASHINGTON

The Honble Jos'h Jones Esqr.

XCVI

From the original MSS. of William A. Fitzhugh
in the New York Historical Society

New Windsor March 25. 1781

Dear Sir

A few days ago brought me the honour of your favor of the 7th inst from Marlboro. Your other letter of Jan the 20th came duly to hand; for both I thank you; without offering an apology for suffering the latter to remain unacknowledged till this time—because I am satisfied you will attribute my silence to any cause rather than disrespect and to none sooner than the true one—viz—the load of business which continually presses upon me.

It was with sincere concern I heard of the injury you had sustained in your property at the Mouth of the Patuxent but it is only adding another specimen to the catalogue of British clemency and boasted generosity.

The accession of Maryland to the confederation & the relinquishment of the claim of Virg. to the Lands West of Ohio are events which are exceedingly pleasing to me, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the powers of

civil government, under the present Constitutions of the several States, to determine how far they are able to obtain men for the war, or for three years by coercion—nor am I enough acquainted with the abilities, of them, to declare what sums they ought to have given to soldiers under this description in preference to a draft of men for a short term. This however is the most expensive and least effectual mode that ever was devised to carry on a War which is like to become a War of finance.—and that no funds within our reach can support it long—I speak upon the best ground when I assert this, because no day nor hour arrives without bringing with it some evidence in support of the truth of the observation.—To this cause also the prolongation of the war—the wretched state of our finances—and every capital misfortune that has befallen us may be traced.

I as little scruple to add that, unless the powers of Congress are made competent to all the purposes of war we are doing no more than wasting our time & spending our treasure to very little purpose; for it is impossible to apply the strength and resources of this country while one State complys with—another rejects—and the majority of them changes or mutilates the requisitions of that Body. Hence the willing States are capitally injured if not ruined. Hence proceed distrust, jealousy, and dissatisfaction; and the impossibility of either projecting or executing (with certainty) any plan whatsoever—Hence proceed all the delays, which to the people at a distance and unacquainted with circumstances, are altogether unaccount-

able—and hence it is we incur useless expence—because we do not bring our force &c into operation at the same time—some being exhausted before others are obtained.

We wait with much solicitude for advices from the Southern army—our last accts from that quarter were less gloomy than the former, but not less equivocal and distressing—I have heard nothing from General Greene since the 28th of Feby nor of him (with precision) since the 2d Inst—Matters were so critically circumstanced at that time as to add pain to impatience—Equally ignorant and equally anxious am I with respect to the French Fleet under the Command of the Chevalier Des Touches—No accts of them have I received (but vague ones through the Channel of Rivington's paper) since he left Newport—at Yorktown in Virginia there was no intelligence of him on the 15th—

It is to be lamented and greatly lamented that the French Commanders at Newport did not adopt the measure of sending the Fleet & a detachment of their land force to Chesapeake bay when I first proposed it to them (in the moment I received the first certain information of the damage done to the British Fleet at Gardner's bay) had the Expedition been undertaken at that time, nothing could have saved Arnold's corps during the weakened state of the British ships from destruction. Instead of this a small detachment only was sent with the fleet which as I foretold would have returned as they went had it not been for the accidental meeting of the Romulus and the Vessels under her convoy.—But as there is no rectifying past errors

—and as it our true policy to stand well with friends on whom we so much depend I relate this in confidence.

I have heard nothing from General Thompson since his release from captivity & his joining the army will depend on his promotion & his promotion in Congress, the time of it is uncertain; but that your son may be relieved from his present anxiety—suspense—and all possible censure I will with much pleasure receive him into my family as an extra aid until Thompson arrives—In the meanwhile his rank may be ascertained & his Commission procured—Mrs Washington makes a tender of her compliments to Mrs Fitzhugh to which you will please to add those of

Dr Sir Yr most obedt & most

Hble servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble

Wm Fitzhugh

XCVII

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood

Private

Head Quarters New Windsor

April 8th 1781

Dr Sir

I have received your Letter of the 6th Inst—

The success of the Enterprize propos'd must depend, on the absence of the British Fleet, the secrecy of the attempt, and a knowledge of the exact situation of the Enemy.—If after you have been at the Westward, the circumstances from your intelligence shall appear favorable; you will be at liberty, to be the bearer of the enclosed Letter to His Excellency the Count De Roch-

ambeau—to whose determination I have referred the matter ; as any co-operation on our part, by moving Troops towards the Sound, would give such indications of the design as would effectually frustrate the success.

Should you not proceed to the Count you may destroy that Letter—if on the contrary, you should go to New Port by keeping an account of the expences they will be repaid by the Public

In the mean time, I wish you to be as particular as possible, in obtaining from your friend, an accurate account of the Enemy's strength on York, Long, and Staten Islands, specifying the several Corps and their distributions.—This I think from the Enemy's present weak State, may be procured with more facility & accuracy than at any former Period

I am Sir

Your most obedient servant

GO WASHINGTON

P. S. I wish to know also, the strength of the last Detachment from New York, and of what Troops it was composed,

I need scarcely suggest, if you should go Eastward that it will be expedient to do it in such a manner as not to create suspicion.—Indeed you know, secrecy is absolutely necessary in the whole affair—

As the Count de Rochambeau does not understand English, it may be well to communicate your business to the Chevalier De Chattelus in the first instance & thro him to the Count, lest it should get abroad

To Major Tallmadge
Weathersfield

XCVIII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor
8th April 1781

Dear Sir,

Intelligence has been sent me by a Gentleman living near the enemy's lines, and who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among them that four parties had been sent out with orders to *take or assassinate* Your Excellency—Governor Clinton—me and a fourth person, name not known.

I cannot say that I am under apprehension on account of the latter, but I have no doubt they would execute the former could they find an opportunity. I shall take such precautions on the occasion as appear to me necessary, and I have thought it proper to advise your Excellency of what has come to my knowledge that you may do the same.

That they may fail of success if they have any such plan in contemplation, is the earnest wish of

Dear Sir

Yr most obt & very hble Servt
GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr Livingston
at Trenton

XCIX

From the Clinton MSS. in the New York State
Library, Albany

Head Quarters New Windsor,
15 April 1781

Dear Sir

The Bearer Mr. Fish of Saratoga district came to me this morning, with the

intelligence of which the inclosed is a Copy. How he obtained it from one Harris he will inform your Excellency. Harris whose Character perhaps your Excellency may be acquainted with, is to meet the party under the command of Ensign Smith the 20th of this month—is to convey a packet to Albany and to carry another back to them. He proposed to Fish to seize him at a place to be agreed upon and to take the letters from him. But I think a better way would be to let him carry the letters and answers in the first instance to Genl Schuyler, who might contrive means of opening them without breaking the seals—take Copies of the contents, and then let them go on. By these means we should become Masters of the whole plot—whereas, were we to seize Harris upon his first tour, we should break up the chain of communication, which seems so providentially thrown into our hands. Should your Excellency approve of the measure which I have suggested, you will be pleased to write to Genl Schuyler upon the subject, and desire him, should business call him from Albany, to leave the conduct of the Affair in proper hands in his absence. I have promised Fish that both he and Harris shall be handsomely rewarded if they execute the Business with fidelity.

I have recd your Excellency's favor of the 30th ulto and 8th Inst. Every thing shall be done to keep up the supply of provision to the Northward, but our great difficulty now lies in getting it from the Magazines in the neighbouring States. The Quarter Master is Money-

less and the people refuse to work longer upon Certificates.

With the Highest Respect and
Esteem I am

Yr Excellency'

Most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr Clinton [at Poughkeepsie]

C

Communicated by Isaac Craig

Head Quarters New Windsor

April 25th 1781

Sir

I have received your favor of the 15th The present State of Col. Proctors Regiment does not admit of your Company being made up to its full complement, but I have by this conveyance, desired General St Clair to let you have as many men as will put you on a level with the others. This is all that can be done— I have already desired the Board of War to send six Artificers to Fort Pitt, you may wait upon them yourself with this letter, and ask three or four more if they can be spared.

I would wish the enclosed for Genl Clarke & Col. Brodhead to reach them as speedily as possible, you will be pleased to take charge of them yourself, if you do not meet with a good opportunity previous to the time you intend Setting out.

I am Sir

Your Humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

To Capt Craig

of the 4th Regt of Artillery
to the Care of the Board of War
Philadelphia

CI

Communicated by John Austin Stevens

Head Quarters 2d May 1781

Sir

You will be pleased immediately to order out a party of fifteen or twenty picked men and a proper officer to go with Major Logan lately of the York Line, to endeavour to apprehend a gang of notorious Villains in this neighbourhood. Major Logan will guide the party and point out the objects. Let them take three days provisions if possible. The party will march as speedily as possible as one of the Gang is already taken up, and it is feared the others will gain intelligence of it. I have directed the order to you in the first instance as I know General Knox is not at home.

I am Sir

Yr most obdt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Lt Col Stevens

or commanding officer

Park of Artillery

CII

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

Head Quarters, New Windsor

May 7th 1781

Dear Sir

I had the honor to receive, last night, your Excellency's Letter of the same date.

In consequence of Brigadr General Clinton's information of the 30th Ulto. I instantly ordered 50 Barrels of flour & 34 of Meat (being every Barrel of the latter we had on hand) to be sent to Albany, for a partial relief of the Garrison of Fort Schuyler. I know it was very inadequate, but it was our all,—since

which not a Barrel of salted Provision has arrived.

I have now directed 100 Barrels of flour (out of 131 which is our whole Magazine) to be immediately transported to Albany— This supply shall be followed by another of Meat, if any quantity should come in from the Eastward— In the mean time I have written, some days since, to General Clinton to draw (by Military coercion if necessary) whatever supplies have been collected for the Continent; from all Counties of Massachusetts most contiguous to him; I have also empowered him to procure Fish by exchanging salt for them.— Whatever more within the limit of my ability, can be suggested or done for the security of Fort Schuyler, and the protection of the frontier, shall be most seriously attended to, and strenuously attempted by

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient, and

Very Humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

P. S.

I shall be extremely happy to see you, in order to converse freely on the subject of the Troops & Frontiers of this State.

His Excellency

Gov. Clinton

[Poughkeepsie]

CIII

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor

27th May 1781

Sir

Last night I returned from Weathers-

field where I have had an interview with His Excellency the Count De Rochambeau; in consequence of which, the French army will commence its march, to form a junction with ours on the North River as soon as circumstances will admit

The accomplishment of the object which we have in contemplation, is of the utmost importance to America, and will in all probability be obtained, unless there should be a failure on our part, in the number of men which will be required for the operation, or the enemy should draw a considerable part of their force from the Southward— It is in our power by proper exertions, to prevent the first—and should the latter take place, we shall be amply repaid our expences by liberating the Southern States, where we have found by experience we are only vulnerable.—

Upon the calculation that I have been able to form, in concert with some of the more experienced French and American Officers. The operation in view will require, in addition to the French Army, all the Continental Battalions from New Hampshire to New Jersey inclusive to be compleated to their full establishment. Your Excellency must be sensible that the measures in consequence of the last requisition of Congress have been very far from answering the end; as, notwithstanding the advanced season, few recruits (comparatively speaking) have yet joined your Regiments. It must also be taken into consideration that a number of those men who were returned when the requisition was made, have since been *taken off* by the various casualties

incident to an army, besides such as have been discharged in consequence of the investigation made into the terms of enlistment by the Committee appointed by Your Excellency for that purpose— By this diminution and the want of success in recruiting: I find from the last return there are 455 men wanting to compleat the two Regiments of your State.

From what has been promised, you will perceive, without my urging further reasons, the necessity I am under of calling upon you, in the most earnest manner, to devise means to send into the field, without delay, the number of men now actually wanting to compleat your Battalions— The term of three years, or for the war would undoubtedly be preferable to any shorter period, but if they cannot be obtained on these conditions, necessity must oblige us to take them for the Campaign only, which might be reckoned to the last of December.

On so great an occasion I should hope that the estimate would be made sufficiently large, and that the exertions in the several Counties would be so very vigorous and energetic as to give us every man we stand in need of by the first of July at furthest Arguments surely cannot be wanting to impress the Legislature with a due sense of the obligation which we are under of furnishing the means now called for— The Enemy counting upon our want of ability, or upon our want of energy, have, by repeated Detachments to the Southward reduced themselves in New York to a situation which invites us to take advantage of it and should the

lucky moment be lost it is to be feared, that they will, after subduing the Southern States, raise a force in them sufficient to hold them, and return again to the Northward with such a number of men as will render New York secure against any force which we can at this time of day, raise or maintain.

Our allies in this Country expect and depend upon being supported by us in the attempt which we are about to make, and those in Europe will be astonished should we neglect the favorable opportunity which is now offered.

As it is probable that some Militia in addition to the full complement of Continental Troops may be necessary to support communications and for other purposes, you will be pleased to direct 500 men to be held in readiness to march within one week after I shall call for them, to serve three months after they shall have joined the army and I shall take the liberty of requesting that the *Executive* may be vested with full powers during the recess of the Assembly to comply with any further requisition, I may make for *more provisions*, or for the means of *transportation* which last may be most essential in the course of our operations, should it become necessary to bring Provisions or Stores from a distance.

I shall be glad to be favored with an answer as soon as possible, with an assurance of which I may depend upon, that if I do not clearly see a prospect of being supported, I may turn my views to a defensive instead of an offensive plan, and save the States and our allies the expence which would be needlessly

incurred by any but an ample and effectual preparation

I have the honor to be
With great esteem and respect
Yr Excellency's
Most obedt Servant

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency
Governor Livingston

CIV

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor

June 9 1781

Dear Sir

I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 1st Instant. Upon examining the State of Ammunition with reference to the proposed operations it is found impossible to furnish more than fifteen thousand Musket Cartridges for the use of the State of New Jersey:—especially at a time, when, we are obliged to solicit a loan of Powder from the Eastern States, and when, the supply of lead in possession of the Public, is very incompetent to our wants.

It is unnecessary to mention to your Excellency that the strictest economy should be enforced in the distribution and expenditure of so essential an article

With great respect & esteem

I am your Excellencys

Most obedt Hble servt

GO WASHINGTON

P. S. An order for the Cartridges is enclosed

His Excellency
Governor Livingston

CV

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters New Windsor

15 June 1781

Sir

I flatter myself that proper measures have been taken before this Time to procure the Number of men for Continental & Militia service requested by my Letter of the 27 of May—In the Calculation which had been made at Weathersfield of the Aid of Militia which would be necessary to support the operation which we have in View, I included sixteen hundred from Pennsylvania: but that State having been twice called upon to embody and march 2400 men immediately to the assistance of Virginia, I am obliged to add the number I shall be disappointed in from Pennsylvania, to the quotas required from the other States—Your proportion of them will be 250—which with the Requisition of the 27th of May, will make in the whole 750.

From circumstances I have Reason to expect that our operation will commence somewhat earlier than I at first expected—Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to order the Militia to march in such Time that they may join the army punctually by the 15th of July next—The officer commanding may give me notice when he is ready to march from his Place of Rendezvous that I may halt him upon the West Side of the Hudson or order him over, as the situation of affairs may require.

I am convinced that I need not enter into a repetition of the arguments which were made use of in my Letter of the 27th

of May, to induce the most strenuous Exertions to fill up the Continental Battalions— I will only say that our Success will depend upon that being done Without it, there is not a chance, & with it we have the fairest Prospects— these Men must be sent forward as fast as they are raised

Of all the difficulties which surround me I fear none more than a Want of Subsistence for the number of men which will be shortly drawn together.— My whole Dependance is upon the Supplies demanded from the several States and if they fail in a regular and sufficient compliance—we must disband—our immense Expence of Preparation must be a dead Loss—& the consequence, in a political View will be of a most serious & alarming nature.— The State of N. Jersey having been for the several late Campaigns in a manner the Theatre of the War has been under the necessity of furnishing very great Supplies to the Army, altho they have not been exactly in the articles specifically required by Congress, & as that will probably be the case in the Present, I have made my principal Requisitions for Flour and meat upon Pennsylvania and the Eastern States— But as I still am very apprehensive of a Deficiency I must entreat your Excellency to endeavour to prevail upon the Legislature to make Provision for procuring as much as they possibly can of their Quota of these Articles— Nothing in Nature can be more repugnant to my Inclination than to be obliged to have recourse to Military Coercion for Subsistence; it being not only highly disgusting & oppressive to the Inhabitants, but ruinous

of the Discipline of the army—the more therefore that can be regularly obtained the less Occasion will there be for Measures of a disagreeable kind—

I have the the Honor to be
with very great Respect & Esteem
Your Excellency's
Most obedient Servant
GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency
Governor Livingston

CVI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Qrs near Dobbs Ferry
10th July 1781

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 20th ulto by Post, came to my hands the evening before I marched for this part of the country— The attention necessary to these kind of movements occupy all ones time, and must plead my excuse for not answering your favor sooner. I question now, whether I shall be able to write so satisfactorily as *I* could wish, or as *you* may expect.— I thank you for the promise of writing Col. R. H. Lee—and if your letter to him should not have been dispatched you would add to the obligation by doing it fully, as it will not be in my power to write so much in detail as I could wish, Shortly,— You must be much unacquainted with the true state of Sheldons Regiment and the Maris Chausi Corps when you apply to have them sent to the Southward— The first is yet to raise, and the last is about to disband, and besides, is very deficient in Horses—without a State to adopt them,—or the means of purchasing them— Sheldon has but 60 horses in all, and

only 25 of these accoutered— To the State of Connecticut he looks up for the rest— These Horses are to perform the duties of Expresses—Patrols—and the ordinary duties of the Field, while the Maris Chausi Corps consists of no more than abt 40 men and half the no. of Horses 12 of which are with me—and from the smallness of the number are continually on duty,—carrying orders to one part and another of the Camp— Judge you therefore of the impracticability of deriving succour from either of these corps.— Why Maylons Dragoons are withheld from that service, you must be better informed of than I am— The complaints against the Baron de Steuben are not more distressing than unexpected for I always viewed him in the light of a good officer—If he has formed a junction with the Marquis, he will be no longer master of his own conduct, of course the clamours against him will cease with his command—from General Green's Letters I had little doubt but that he would have been in Virginia ere this—powerfull causes may have detained him, but I am persuaded he will be there as soon as possible, as it is within his command, and now the principal theatre of action—In the meanwhile I am afraid to give any order in that quarter lest it should clash with his views, and produce confusion—I shall however write fully to him in the course of a few days upon the several matters contained in your letter—and till his arrival it is my opinion the command of the Troops in that State cannot be in better hands than the Marquis's. He possesses uncommon Military talents—is of a quiet and sound judgement, persevering and enterprizing

without rashness—and besides these, he is of a very conciliatory temper, and perfectly sober. Which are qualities which rarely combine in the same person & were I to add that some men will gain as much experience in the course of three or 4 years as some others will in ten or a dozen, You cannot deny the fact and attack me upon that ground,—To relate facts, will be a sufficient expression of my Mortified situation. A third of July is passed! My former letters gave Congress a return of all the Recruits who had joined the army by the first of June—My present letter to them shows the number which have come in since—The Q. Masters and Commissary departments must be supplied from there or their business must stand. No militia are yet come in though some were pressingly called for to strengthen West-point & our Northern front, that I might draw my Continental forces as much as possible to a point; and other things drag on like a Cart without wheels, but as far as my exertions can go the operations of the Campaign shall be hastened—My friends will make allowances—My enemies will censure—and I shall have the consolation of knowing that my whole time & attention is devoted to the public service, however short I may fall of its expectation. I have just received a letter from Col. Laurens (at the Court of Versailles) with the enclosed intercepted letters from the Minister (Lord Germain) I persuade myself copies are transmitted to Congress, but as there is a possibility of miscarriage, I transmit mine to be made use of as occasion requires—A publication of them with

proper comments, would, undoubtedly answer very valuable purposes—As the Minister's Sentiments respecting our Government &c &c are too obvious to be mistaken & must be alarming to those who are panting for the old Constitutions, to be explained away or relished. For a considerable time past I have had strong suspicions & uneasy moments on acct. of the People of Vermont. I have at different times been on the point of communicating them to Congress—but motives of delicacy have restrained me—convinced I am that these people wd. become a formidable barrier if they were made a separate State—equally convinced I am that Neutrality is the most we have to expect from them if they are not—I do not enter into the justice of their claim, because I am unacquainted with the merits of it—tis to the expediency & policy only I speak—at present that State give protection & is an asylum to all deserters—to every person who wishes to avoid taxation &c, by which means their strength is augmented in proportion to our loss—and the manner in which they mean to apply it is very equivocal. I have not since I have viewed the affairs of these people in the light here described, missed any opportunity of expressing my apprehensions to individual members of Congress who have passed through the army, and this I thought was as far as I could with propriety go. I do not now believe that the people, as a body, have any evil intention, but I firmly believe that some of their leaders have and that they will prevent us from deriving aid, though they may not be able to turn the arms of their Countrymen against us—I have

this instant received your favor of the 3d inclosing my old friend Cary's narrative of the transactions in Virginia. I am happy to find such a spirit prevailing in the Country and thank you for the perusal of his letters, as they contain the fullest & most authentic acct. I have had from that quarter. I am with much truth

Dr Sir

Yr Most Obdt & Affct.

Servt

G. WASHINGTON

To the Honble Joseph Jones

P. S. I need not say that this letter is written in haste—the marks of it are too evident to require such a declaration

CVII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry
13th July 1781

Dear Sir

I am just now honored with your Excellency's Favor of the 8th Instant, informing me of the offer of a number of Volunteer Horsemen from your State.

I applaud Sir! this spirit, which gives me much Satisfaction in its contemplation—The Gentlemen deserve my best Thanks for their Tenders of Service; which I beg leave to present to them thro' the Hands of your Excellency—

We are at present so much superior in Cavalry by the arrival of the Legion of Lauzun and a very good Corps under Colo Sheldon, that I have not need of any more Troops of that Establishment. It being also probable that the Gentlemen in the course of our operations, may be very usefull by joining a Body

of Troops, which it may be found expedient to form in your State: I think it not best to Draw them on this side of the River—but hope they will be so good as to reserve themselves for any operations which may be commenced on your side—

I will be obliged if Your Excellency will be pleased to inform me the Progress that is made under your late Law for filling your Continental Battalions—I am anxious on this Head, as I view it as an object of the greatest Importance, an object which if compleated would in great manner prevent the neces ity of calling for other assistance

I have the Honor to be

With great Esteem & Consideration

Your Excellency's

Most obedient & most humble servt

GO WASHINGTON

Governor Livingston
Trenton

CVIII

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library,
Albany

Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry
30th July 1781

Dear Sir

Yesterday I was honored by the Receipt of your Excellency's Favor of the 28th inst.—Sensible of the Importance of supporting the Northern and Western Frontier of your State, Measures were taken for that Purpose, by calling for the Militia of the State of Massachusetts, as early as the Resolution for drawing down the Regular Troops was adopted—and my Letter of the 25th of June, requesting Governor Hancock to order 600 Militia from the Western Counties

of that State to march to Albany, was forwarded to him without Delay—this Requisition I had Reason to suppose had been early complied with, untill your Favor informed the contrary—In confidence however that the orders have before this time been given—but that no further Delay may happen I have this Day addressed Govr. Hancock on the subject, requesting that my Requisition may be fully and punctually complied with.—

I am happy in being well assured of your Excellency's Zeal and Activity in forwarding the Levies of this State for Public Service—and trust they will be in Readiness by the Time you mention—You will assure yourself Sir! a most hearty Welcome on my Part, whenever your Convenience will admit your paying a visit to Camp.

I have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of Respect & Regard

Your Excellency's

Most Obedient

humble Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Govr Clinton

CIX

From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library
Albany

Head Quarters Dobbs Ferry
5th Augst 1781

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 1st inst. inclosing the Letter from Gen. Schuyler & others, is this moment come to hand.—

It is not a little distressing to find that the States will not or cannot fill their Continental Battalions, or afford the Aids of Militia required from them—but

that instead thereof they are expecting from me the few operating Troops which I have to depend on—the Consequence of this Conduct is too obvious to need any Comment—instead of offensive measures a defensive Plan must be adopted—instead of an active and decisive Campaign which I had hoped to have made—we must end our Operations in Languor and Disgrace—and perhaps protract the War, to the Hazzard of our final Ruin.

In Consequence of your Excellency's former Letter, I dispatched an Express to Govr Hancock, with a reiterated Request that he would order on the Militia of Berkshire & other Western Counties immediately to Albany—and have also addressed the Commandg Officer of the Militia raising in those Counties, begging him to march forward without Delay, to the Orders of Genl Clinton—what effect these Requisitions will have, it is impossible for me to say—in the Mean Time, I will leave the Remains of Courtlandt's Regs at Albany, trusting that the State will by its own Exertions, enable me to call them down when necessary, by substituting 9 months men, if those for three years cannot be obtained.

In Hopes that no further Delay of the Militia, from the Western parts of Massas'ts may happen for Want of any Exertions on my Part, I have desired Maj. Genl Lincoln, an officer of that State, to proceed to the County of Berkshire, for the Express Purpose of hastening them on—however little effect my written Applications have had—I hope his personal Attendance will produce the Aid we expect from those Counties.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Esteem & Respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt & humble Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Govr Clinton

CX

Communicated by J. H. Osborne
Auburn, N. Y.

Dobbs Ferry 8th Aug 1781

Dear Sir

This letter will probably be delivered to you by Mr Fitzhugh third son to Colo Fitzhugh of Maryland—who is desirous of obtaining an appointment in Baylor's Dragoons

Mr Fitzhugh is a stranger to me, but is spoken of as a promising young man, just from his studies—such characters is an acquisition to any Corps. I shall be obliged to you for introducing him to my namesake as a fit person to receive a Commission in the Regiment he commands if there is a vacancy in it, and for any civilities you may shew him—With much Truth and sincere affection

I am Dr Sir

Your obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major General Nathanael Greene

Commander in Chief of the
Southern Army]

CXI

From the original MSS. Gift of William A.
Fitzhugh in New York Historical Society

Camp near Dobbs' ferry
8th Augt 1781

Dear Sir

I stand indebted to you for two letters
—dated the 26th of April and 29th of

May—the reason why I did not immediately answer so much of the first as related to your son William, was the hourly expectation I was in of seeing his Brother the Captain, from whom I expected to know what Corps would be preferred—Not doing this till the middle of June, my answer was protracted till I was informed that he had changed his views, and was about to enter the suite of General Smallwood—This rendering an answer to that part of the letter in some degree unnecessary—the moving state of the army, and the junction which was formed with the auxiliary Troops immediately after, has been the occasion of my silence till I was informed by the Captain that his Brother had revived his first intention of getting an appointment in the Cavalry which has induced me to write to both Govr Nelson & Genl Greene recommending him to a Commission in Baylors Cavalry—I have no doubt of his succeeding if there is a vacancy in the Regiment—

There is scarce a stage of the Campaign, or an occurrence that happens in it, that does not exhibit some proof of the fatal policy of short enlistments, and of the immense expence we are involved in by them—The enemy never fail to take advantage in some quarter or another of the weak state of our army, whilst we, if an opening presents itself, have men to raise (by enormous bounties) before advantage can be taken of it, which occasions such lapse of time that the favorable moment is passed, & the enemy is prepared for us by a transport of their Troops.

The force called for and which I ought to have had by the first of Janry is not

yet arrived, nor do I know when to expect it—the Season is rapidly advancing, and the enemy if reports and appearances do not deceive us, is in hourly expectation of a reinforcement from Virginia at New York—thus it is we are always labouring—always accumulating expense and always disappointed of our object.

It is much to be feared that the campaign will waste away as the last did in a fruitless attempt to get men, who are procured in such a manner, and for such short period, that the first who come into the field are about leaving it as the last arrive—by which means an enormous expence is incurred and no benefit derived, as we never have a sufficient force at any period to answer our purposes

I am clearly in sentiment with you, that all emissions of Paper Money ought to be subject to a supreme direction to give it a proper Stamina & universal credit and that good & sure funds should be appropriated for the redemption of it—but in this as in most other matters, the States individually have acted so independantly of each other as to become a mere rope of sand, and to loiter upon the brink of ruin at a time when the independency of them, if the resources which have been drawn forth, had been applied to great objects by one common head, would have been as unshaken as Mount Atlas, and as regardless of the efforts of Great Britain to destroy it, as she is of the unheeded tempests that pass over her.

It was with much concern I heard you had received loss by the Pirates of the Bay—and of the Insults Mrs. Fitzhugh

and yourself had received from them—My complements attend her—and with very great esteem and regard

I am—Dear Sir

Yr Most obdt & affectnt

Servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble William Fitzhugh Esq

CXII

From the Livingston Correspondence

Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Dobbs Ferry

20 Aug 1781

Sir

I regret being obliged to inform your Excellency, that I find myself at this late period, very little stronger than I was when the army first moved out of their Quarters. Of the Militja which were required of the State of New Jersey, and which were to have joined me by the 15th of July, never have come in. I am informed that the first party which rendezvoused at Morris Town returned home for want of subsistence. Of the Levies for the Continental Battalions only three men have joined in the course of last month.

The reinforcements from the other States have been very inconsiderable.

I leave your Excellency to judge of the delicate and embarrassed situation in which I stand at this moment. Unable to advance with prudence beyond my present position, while perhaps in the general opinion my force is equal to the commencement of operations against New York, my conduct must appear, if not blameable, highly mysterious at least. Our allies with whom a junction has been formed upwards of three weeks, and

who were made to expect from the engagements which I entered into with them at Weathersfield in May last, a very considerable augmentation of our force by this time, instead of seeing a prospect of advancing, must conjecture, upon good grounds, that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away. I shall just remark that it will be no small degree of triumph to our Enemies, and will have a very [fatal] influence upon our Friends in Europe [if] they find such a failure of resource, or such a want of energy to draw it out, that our wasted and expensive preparations end only in idle parade.

I cannot yet but persuade myself, and I do not discontinue to encourage our Allies with a hope that our force will be still be sufficient to carry our intended operation into effect, or if we cannot fully accomplish that, to oblige the Enemy to withdraw part of their force from the Southward to support New York, and which, as I informed your Excellency in my letter of the 27th of May, was part of our plan.

You must be sensible, sir, that the fulfilment of my engagements must depend upon the degree of vigor with which the Executives of the Several States exercise the powers with which they have been vested, and enforce the laws lately passed for filling up and supplying the Army. In full confidence that the means which have been voted will be obtained, I shall continue my preparations. But I must take the liberty of informing you, that it is essentially necessary I should be made acquainted, immediately on the receipt of this, with the number of Continental Levies and Militia which have been

forwarded, and what are the prospects of obtaining the remainder

I will further add, that it will be equally necessary to see that the specific requisitions are regularly complied with

I have the honor to be
with great Respect and Esteem
Your Excellency's
most obt and hble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

By a letter just recd from Colo Seely I find that only 157 Militia had collected at Morris Town, and that the account of their returning home was premature. I have ordered them on to the army

His Excellency
Govr Livingston

CXIII

From the Livingston Correspondence
Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Kings Ferry
21st Aug 1781

Sir

I feel myself unhappy in being obliged to inform your Excellency that the circumstances in which I find myself at this late Period, have induced me to make an alteration of the main object which was at first adopted and has hitherto been held in view for the operations of this Campaign—It gives me pain to say that the delay in the Several States to comply with my requisitions of the 24th of May last, on which in a great measure depended the hopes of our success in that attempt has been one great and operative reason to lead to this alteration—other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this determination, and it may in the course of events

prove happy to the States that this deviation from our main design has been adopted—

The Fleet of the Count de Grasse with a body of French Troops on board will make its first appearance in the Chesapeak, which should the time of the Fleets arrival prove favorable and should the Enemy under Lord Cornwallis hold their present position in Virginia will give us the fairest opportunity to reduce the whole British force in the South & to ruin their boasted expectations in that Quarter—to effect this desirable object, it has been judged expedient, taking into consideration our own present circumstances with the situation of the Enemy in New York & at the Southward, to abandon the siege of the former, and to march a body of Troops, consisting of a detachment from the American Army with the whole of the French Troops immediately to Virginia—With this detachment which will be very considerable, I have determined to march myself. The American Troops are already on the West Side the Hudson and the French Army will arrive at Kings Ferry this day—when the whole are crossed our march will be continued with as much dispatch as circumstances will admit.

The American Army which will remain in this Department, excepting two light companies and some few detachments consists of the two New Hampshire Regiments—Ten Massachusetts and five of Connecticut Infantry with Sheldons Legion, Cranes Artillery, the State Troops and Militia, which with proper exertion of the States will it is expected be sufficient to hold the Enemy

in Check in New York and prevent their ravages on the Frontiers. The command during my absence is given to Major-General Heath, who will have the honor to communicate with the States on every occasion which may require their attention. As the Enemys Force in New York has been for some time past very considerable, and it is reported with a good degree of certainty that they have lately received a very respectable reinforcement of German recruits from Europe, it will be necessary still to send forward a great part if not the whole of the Militia requested from your State, in the same manner as tho' no alteration had taken Place in our Measures—You will therefore continue to send on at least 500 Men from your State to the orders of Genl Heath with as much dispatch as possible unless you should be informed from him that this Number need not be completed.

On this occasion, I cannot omit to repeat to your Excellency my opinion of the absolute importance of filling your Continental Battalions to their compleat Number for the War or three Years. Not only our past experience for a course of years, but our present situation should strongly inforce the necessity of this Measure. Every Campaign teaches us in the increasing difficulty and expence of procuring short termed Levies, and their decreasing utility in the field. The large reinforcements which the Enemy have this campaign sent to America strongly indicate their expectations of the continuance of the War—Should that be the Case the best way to meet them is certainly with a permanent Force—but should the War

be drawing towards a close a permanent and respectable Army will give us the happiest prospect of a favorable Peace—In every view a Permanent Army should be the great object of the States to obtain as they regard sound Policy, Prudence or Economy

I have the honor to be

With great regard & respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston

CXIV

Communicated by Pierre C. Van Wyck

Sir

You will take charge of the Cloathing the Boats Intrenching Tools—and such other Stores as shall be committed to your care by the Quarter Masr. General, with these you are to proceed (in the order they are mentioned) to Springfield by the way of Sufferans—Pompton—the two Bridges and Chatham.

When you arrive at Springfield you will put yourself under the order of Major Genl. Lincoln or any other your superior officer commanding at that place You will also if occasion should require it alter the above route agreeably to orders from either Maj'r Genl. Lincoln or the Qr Mr. General

You will be particularly careful to collect all your men that are in a proper condition to march and will use your best endeavours to prevent desertion.

Given at Kings Ferry this

25 day of Augt. 1781—

GO WASHINGTON

To Colonel Cortland

CXV

From the Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser

Baltimore 8th September 1781

With the warmest sense of gratitude and affection, I accept your kind congratulations on my arrival in this town.

Permit me, gentlemen, to assure you, that from the pleasure which I feel in having this opportunity to pay my respects to the worthy inhabitants of the town of Baltimore, I participate in your sensations of joy

If during the long and trying period in which my services, as a soldier, have been employed for the interests of the United States of America, and for the establishment of their rights, I have acquitted myself to the acceptance of my fellow citizens; if my various fortunes; if my attention to the civil powers of the States have subserved the general good of the public; in these things I feel myself happy—and in these considerations I rejoice in your felicity.

The happy and eventful successes of our troops in the Southern States, as they reflect glory on the American arms, and particular honour on the gallant officers and men immediately concerned in that department fill my heart with pleasure and delight—the active and generous part our allies are taking in our cause, with the late arrival of their formidable fleet in the bay of Chesapeake, call for our utmost gratitude; and with the smiles of heaven on our combined operations, give us the happiest presage of the most pleasing events—events which in their issue may lead to an honourable and permanent peace.

I thank you, most cordially, for your prayers and good wishes for my prosperity. May the author of all blessings aid our united exertions in the cause of liberty and universal peace; and may the particular blessing of heaven rest on you and the worthy citizens of this flourishing town of Baltimore

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant

GO WASHINGTON

William Smith, Samuel Purviance Jr.,
John Moale, John Dorsey, James
Calhoun,

Committee of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Town of Baltimore

CXVI

Communicated by Benson J. Lossing

Head Quarters near York
Octr 27th 1781

Dear Sir

As the Assembly of your State is now sitting, I cannot omit so favorable an occasion to suggest to you some measures which I conceive our present circumstances and prospects require should be immediately adopted.

To recruit the Regiments, assigned as a quota of this State, to their full establishment and put them on a respectable footing, is, in my opinion, the first great object, which demands the attention of your Legislature—The Arguments which have formerly been so frequently urged to enforce the expediency of this measure, must I presume, have carried conviction with them—but unhappily for us, the situation of affairs, especially in the States which were the immediate seat of War, was so perplexed—and the embarrassments of Government were so numerous

& great, that there could be hitherto, but a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress on this subject—Many of these difficulties are now removed, and the present moment which is certainly very favorable to the recruiting service, ought to be eagerly embraced for the purpose.

I will candidly confess to you that my only apprehension (which I wish may be groundless) is lest the late important success, instead of exciting our exertions, as it ought to do, should produce such a relaxation in the prosecution of the War, as will prolong the calamities of it—while, on the other hand, it appears to me to be our only sound policy (let that of the Enemy be what it will) to keep a well-appointed formidable Army in the field, as long as the War shall continue—For should the British Cabinet still persevere in their hostile designs, and the Powers of Europe interpose in their behalf, this is a measure of absolute necessity—Or should a negotiation soon take place, the small expence which will be incurred by raising & keeping up a respectable force, for a short time, will be more than compensated, by the advantages to be derived from it at the pacification.

Since this State, is at present, entirely liberated from the Ravages of War, I must take the liberty of recommending in the most earnest manner, that every possible aid, and assistance may be given by it to the Southern States which are yet invaded and that General Green may, meet with that effectual support from its resources, which he will now have right to expect.

Had I not considered the present

period too precious to be suffered to pass unimproved for the public good, and that vigorous & decisive efforts ought to be made without a moments loss of time, for augmenting our force, and reducing the power of the Enemy in the Southern States, I should rather have delayed this address until the sentiments of Congress could have been communicated to you but the importance of the occasion, will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient apology to them, for the liberty I am now taking.

I have the honor to be

With great respect & esteem

Most Obedt & Humble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

[His Excellency Thomas Jefferson
Governor of the State of Virginia.]

CXVII

Communicated by Benson J. Lossing

Head Quarters near York

Novr 4 1781

Sir

I have to inform you that it is concluded to form a deposit, of all the arms & ammunition for Musquetry brought with me from the Northward, and taken from the enemy, at Westham in this State, or in its neighborhood, from whence supplies may be forwarded for the Southern Army, or issued to the State in case of another invasion;—If proper depossits for establishing this Magazine can be found at the place mentioned, I beg you will have them provided, taking particular care to avoid the Salt Houses, which will be detrimental to our purpose.

If Westham will not afford the proper accommodation, Richmond may be des-

tinued for the reception of the Stores for the present.

A Guard of twenty four men will be necessary for the security of this Magazine,—They may be formed from the State Troops or Recruits, and will be put under the orders of Capt. Singleton of Colo. Harrisons Regt. of Artillery, who is to take the general charge of the Stores.—

A Laboratory is also to be established at the deposit of the Stores—Capt. Irish with his Company of Laboratory men & Artificers will stand in need of assistance to remove them to the place fixed upon —You will be pleased to order them the means of transportation—

In case of Danger from the Enemy, or any other exigence, I must beg you to give every needfull assistance for the security or removal of the stores, that may be brought proper, the expences of which will be refunded by the United States—

The importance of this Deposit to this and the United States, will impress itself so deeply on your mind, that it will be needless for me to urge, that every measure may be taken by the Legislature of your State, for its perfect security & preservation—

Colo. Carrington will deliver this, and will have the honor to confer with you on the necessary Arrangements to be made to fulfill my intentions

I have the honor to be, with esteem,

Your Moste

Obedient Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

[His Excellency Thomas Jefferson
Governor of the State of Virginia]

CXVIII

Communicated by T. J. Weaver

His Excelency General Washington,
Commander^s in Chief of the Allied
Army

SEAL

To all Commanders of Ships of War,
and private armed Vessels, belonging to
the United States, and their Allies,
cruizing on the high Seas,

These are to certify that the Schooner
Hunter of 60 Tonns burthen Captain
Miller, Commander, navigated by Eight
Seamen transporting Fourteen Officers,
& Seventeen Soldiers, Prisoners of War
to the United States of America under
a Flag of Truce hath permission to pass
from York Town in Virginia, to New
York, and from thence to Rhode
Island.

That the usages of War, relative to
Flags being observed on the part of
said Vessel she is to pass without inter-
ruption as aforementioned

Given at Head Quarters near York
Town, this 5th day of November 1781.

GO WASHINGTON

CXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Mount Vernon 15th Novemr 1781

Dear Sir—

I have the honor to thank you most
sincerely for your Congratulations con-
veyed in your Favor of the 27th ulto—

That our Success against the Enemy
in the State of Virginia, has been so
happily effected, & with so little Loss—
and that it promises such favorable

Consequences (if properly improved) to
the Welfare & Independence of the
United States—is matter of very pleas-
ing Reflection.

I beg you to be assured that I am
with perfect Regard & Esteem
Dear Sir

Your most Obedient and
most humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

Honr Joseph Reed Esq

NOTES.

THE ANDREWS COLLECTION OF EN-
GRAVED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—The
following are in the possession of Mr.
William L. Andrews, New York City :

1 General Washington, Late President
of the American Congress.

Painted by P. Wright, of Philadelphia. P.
Dawe, sculp., London. Published by D.
Gally, No. 263 High Holborn, Jan. 8,
1801. *Desc.*: Three-quarter length in
military costume. Battle scene in back-
ground. Printed in colors. Size 14x19½
inches.

2 Washington.

Drawn and engraved by Chas. Buxton,
M. D. Teibout, sculp. *Desc.*: Full
length, in military dress. Standing on a
pedestal, and holding in right hand a
scroll bearing his farewell address. In
background a view of the Bowling Green,
Fort George and bay. In foreground an
urn, with the inscription, "Sacred to
Patriotism," on the pedestal. Size,
10½x16½ inches.

3 Washington, Généralissime des Etats-
Unis de l'Amérique.

Dessiné par Borneau, d'après un tableau
fourni par M. le Marquis de la Fayette.
Gravé par Chevillet. *Desc.*: Three-quar-
ters length, in military dress. Oval in
square engraved frame. Size, 10x13½
inches.

- 4 His Excellency George Washington, Esq., Captain General of all the American Forces.

J. Norman, sculp. *Desc.*: Full length, in Continental army military dress. Left arm leaning on the mouth of a cannon. The right extended. Tents in the background. Forms the frontispiece to "An Impartial History of the War in America," printed in Boston, 1781. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

- 5 General Washington.

J. Trenchard, sculp. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress. Oval in square frame. Frontispiece Columbian Mag., 1787. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

- 6 George Washington.

H. Pinhas, sculp. *Desc.*: On horseback, under a palm tree. Size, 4×6 inches.

- 7 G. Washington.

J. Trumbull, pinx., J. Le Roy, sculp. *Desc.*: Full length, military dress. Negro servant holding his horse. In engraved frame. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches.

- 8 S. E. George Washington, Général des Armées des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.

Le Beau, sculp. A Paris chez Mondhart, rue St. Jacques. *Desc.*: Oval in military dress (half length). In highly decorated engraved border of flags, cannon, etc., wreath of laurel, oak and palm. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 9 Georg. Washington, General und Commandeur en Chef bey der Provincial-Armee in America.

Desc.: Three-quarter length, military dress, Military action in background. Very coarsely engraved. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 10 Gen'l George Washington.

Half length, military dress. Oval in square. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 11 Le General Washington, Commandant en Chef des Armées Américaines.

Gravé d'après le Tableau de N. Piehle, peint d'après nature à Philadelphie en 1783. A Basle chez Chr. de Mechel. *Desc.*: Half length, oval in square. Below a representation of the surrender of Cornwallis, with the inscription, "Journée mé-

morable du 19 Octobre 1781, à York en Virginie." Size, $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The foregoing is in an illustrated copy of Everett's Washington.

- 12 George Washington, Commander in Chief of ye Armies of ye United States of America.

Engraved by W. Sharp from an original picture. Half length, military dress. Oval in frame. Coiled snake and liberty cap on top, with the legend, "Dont tread on me." Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 13 George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States.

From the original picture, painted at the request of the Corporation of the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Published, June 24, 1793, by E. Savage, No. 84 Newman St. E. Savage, pinxit and sculpsit. *Desc.*: Three-quarter length, Citizen's dress. Seated at table holding a paper. Size, 10×18 inches.

- 14 The Washington Family. George Washington, his Lady and her two grandchildren by the name of Custis. (This Title repeated in French.)

Philadelphia. Published, March 10, 1798, by E. Savage and Robt. Wilkinson, No. 58 Cornhill, London. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. *Desc.*: Gen. Washington (in military dress) and Mrs. Washington, seated one on each side of a table, on which rests a map of Mount Vernon, to a point on which Mrs. Washington directs the General's attention. Mrs. Washington's granddaughter stands beside her and the grandson beside Washington; a negro servant standing behind Mrs. Washington's chair. The window of the apartment opens upon a view of the Potomac. Size, $18 \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

- 15 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.

From the original Picture painted, in 1790, for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. Published Feb. 7, 1792, by E. Savage, No. 29 Charles Street, Middx Hospital. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress, head uncovered. Oval in plain engraved square. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.

- 16 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.
From the original Picture painted, in 1790, for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage, London. Published for the Proprietor, Aug. 10th, 1793, by E. Jefferey, No. 11 Pall Mall. *Desc.*: Half length, military dress, head uncovered. Oval, printed in sepia. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5$.
- 17 George Washington, Esq., Général en chef de l'Armée Anglo-Américaine, nommé Dictateur par le Congrès en Février 1777.
A Paris chez Esnauts et Rapilly, rue St. Jacques, à la Ville de Coutances. A. P. D. R. *Desc.*: half length, military dress, with cocked hat. Oval, in a border ornamented with military emblems. Size, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$.
- 18—19 The comparatively modern portraits, viz.:
The half length by Marshall, and equestrian figure, Washington at Princeton.
J. ANDREWS.
- THE MOREAU COLLECTION OF WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—The following are in the possession of Mr. J. B. Moreau, New York City:
GILBERT STUART.
- 1 George Washington, Esq., late President of the United States of America.
From an original Picture in the possession of J. Sebn. De França, Esq., of Devonshire Place, to whom this Plate is Dedicated by his obliged humble Servt., Robert Cribb. Engraved by W. Nutter. Size, $9 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Stipple).
- 2 George Washington, First President of the United States of America.
From the original picture, painted by G. Stuart, in the possession of the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne. Engraved by Jas. Fitler. Size, $4 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).
- 3 George Washington.
Trott, del., after Stuart. Engraved by Wright. Size 2×3 in. (Line).
- 4 George Washington.
From a Picture painted by Mr. Stuart in 1795, in the possession of Samuel Vaughan, Esqr., published in 1796. Engraved by T. Holloway. Size, 8×9 in. (Line).
- 5 George Washington.
From an original picture in the possession of Samuel Vaughan, Esq. Engraved by W. Ridley. Size, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. (Stipple).
- 6 George Washington.
Né en Virginie, le 11 Février 1732. Gravé d'après le Camée par Madame de Bréhan à New York 1789. Size, 6×4 in.
- 7 George Washington.
The English artist has followed the lines of the Print in the French original after a picture by Piehle on account of the remarks of Mr. Lavater. Published by T. Holloway and the other Proprietors, May 21, 1794. The Portrait is an oval, $5 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., with a representation of the "Event of the 19th of October, 1781, at Yorktown in Virginia." Engraved by Holloway. Size, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 8 George Washington.
Marckl, del. In Military uniform—(vignette). Engraved by Bertonnier. Size, $3 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).
- 9 George Washington.
Medallion Head, by Pentagraph. Engraved by Ormsby. Size, 8×7 in.
- 10 George Washington.
Guenied, del. Full length, with palm tree in background. Engraved by E. Monnin. Size, 6×5 in.
- 11 George Washington.
Painted by J. Wright, son of Mrs. Patience Wright. Engraved by J. Collyer. Size, 3×2 in.
- 12 George Washington.
From an original miniature by Wm. Birch, in the possession of Chas. G. Barney, Esq., (Private Plate). Engraved by H. B. Hall. Size, 3 in. Vignette (Line).
- 13 George Washington.
Dessiné par Condu—Gravé par Blanchard.—Dédié à S. E. le Général Jackson, Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Par son très-respectueux admirateur. Le typographe, N. Bettoni. Size, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Line).

14 George Washington.

Généralissime des Américains, Libérateur des Etats-Unis, contemporain et ami du Général Lafayette. Dessiné par Bonnier d'après un tableau fourni par M. le Marquis de la Fayette. Engraved by Chevillet. Size, 13½x10 in. (Line).

15 George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of ye Armies of ye United States of America.

Oval, with motto, "Don't tread on me." Size, 4½x6 in.

PEALE.

16 S. E. George Washington, Général-en-Chef des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.

Le BB., pinxit. J. L., sculp. Size, 10½x7 in. (Line).

17 George Washington.

Oval. T. Cooke, del. et sculp. Size, 3x4 in. (Line)

18 George Washington.

Peint par L. le Paon, Peintre de Bataille de S. A. S. Mgr. le Prince de Condé. Gravé par N. Le Mire, des Académies Impériales et Royales et de celle des Sciences et Arts de Rouen. Full length, with colored servant and horse in background. Size, 12½x16½ in. (Line).

TRUMBULL.

19 George Washington.

Engraved by Geoffroy. Size, 3½x4 in. (Line and Stipple).

20 George Washington.

Full length, with servant and horse in the background. Engraved by T. A. Le Roy. Size, 6½x4 in. (Line).

SAVAGE.

21 George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.

From the original picture painted in 1790 for the Philosophical Chamber at the University of Cambridge in Massachusetts. Painted and engraved by E. Savage. Size, 7½x5 in. (Stipple).

HOUDON.

22 George Washington.

Dessiné et Gravé d'après Houdon par Alexandre Tardieu. Déposé à la Bibliothèque Nationale le 9 Vendémiaire An. 9. Size, 3 in. diam. (Line).

23 George Washington.

Drawn by J. Wood from Houdon's Bust. Published by Joseph Delaplaine, 1814. Engraved by Leney. Size, 4x5 in.

CHANTREY.

24 George Washington.

Drawn by H. Corbould. From a Statue by F. Chantrey, London. Published Jan. 1, 1827, Colnagi & Son, Pall Mall, East. Engraved by J. Thompson. Size, 12x4 in. (Stipple).

GREENOUGH.

25 George Washington.

Horatio Greenough, sculptor. Engraved by Jacopi Bernardi. Size, 9x12 in. (Line).

J. B. MOREAU.

THE PIERREPONT-STUART.—Account of the full-length portrait of Washington in the possession of Henry E. Pierrepont of Brooklyn, L. I.

The grandfather of Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. William Constable of New York, was having his portrait painted by Stuart in 1796, while Stuart was engaged painting the full-length portrait of Washington for Mr. Bingham, which was presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Mr. Constable was in the army and aid to General Lafayette, and was intimate with General Washington. He induced Mr. Stuart to paint for him a portrait of Washington similar to that which he was then painting, and also a half-length portrait, which he presented to his friend, General Alexander Hamilton, for which two portraits Stuart was to charge his own price, which appears by Stuart's bill, as he inserted in his own handwriting the prices of the full-length and also the half length, while Mr. Constable by his agent inserted his own price for the portrait agreed upon.

Owing to friendly relation between Mr.

Stuart and Constable and Mr. Daniel McCormick, who was a mutual friend of both parties, Stuart finished the details of his full length for Mr. Constable with unusual care. He purchased a Turkey rug, which he copied carefully, giving richness to the picture, owing to some badinage had with Mr. McCormick when he bought it.

This fine picture is in perfect preservation, the colors being as fresh as when painted. As it was painted at the same time Stuart was at work on the Lansdowne portrait, for which Washington was giving sittings, and by tradition it has been transmitted that Stuart painted on both portraits alternately, both have been claimed to be originals.

In the full-length Washington is represented as delivering his farewell address; in the half-length, presented to General Hamilton, he appears seated, with the copy of the address in his hand.

The Lansdowne portrait of Washington is sometimes called Stuart's first original, and the Athenæum portrait his second original; but Stuart's letter of 9th March, 1823, corrects this. He writes of the Lansdowne portrait "as the only original painting I ever made of Washington, except the one I own myself. *I painted a third but rubbed it out.*"

This portrait which he writes he owns himself, is the Athenæum head which he afterwards sold. The third referred to, which he writes he destroyed, was in fact his first portrait painted in 1795, which was unsatisfactory to him. Before destroying it he made some copies, one of which called the Gibbs' Portrait, is in the possession of Dr. W. F. Channing, of Providence, R. I. EDITOR.

THE BIRCH MINIATURE.—This portrait was obtained from the artist by my grandfather, James McHenry, who was appointed by Washington Secretary of War in 1796, and tradition in my family says that my grandfather selected from among several this specimen as that which presented the best likeness of the original, although the plate on which it had been painted was cracked.

The following is a memorandum of remarks made to me by Mr. Rembrandt Peale, when on a visit to Baltimore in 1858, with reference to a miniature portrait in enamel of Washington, by Birch, owned by me.

Mr. Birch came to Philadelphia, bringing with him a beautiful enamel miniature portrait of Lord Mansfield, which he had copied from an oil painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and partly to encourage him, and partly to have the first enamel painting executed in America, Mr. Peale, Senior (C. W. P., R. P.'s father), sat to him for his portrait, which, however, did not give satisfaction. Mr. Birch himself found that he could not paint enamel portraits immediately from life, and he therefore turned his attention to the copying of oil paintings, and later in life he bought a little property in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and occupied himself with the production of enamel bracelets, brooches and similar personal ornaments, with which he was very successful. Mr. Birch was anxious to paint a portrait of Washington from life, but the President being tired of sitting to applicants for similar favors, would only grant permission to Mr. B. to remain in his cabinet whilst he was engaged with his papers or other

business, and thus Mr. Birch was able to make a crayon sketch, embodying the general characteristics of Washington's countenance. This sketch aided Mr. B. in his further work, the *enamel* portrait, which Mr. Peale regards as copied from one of Stuart's copies of his (Stuart's) so-called first portrait of Washington. Mr. R. Peale and Stuart painted Washington at about the same time. Mr. P. had obtained one sitting of some three hours, and on a following day, on returning for a second sitting, was told by Mrs. Washington that the President was then engaged giving a sitting to a young American recently returned from studying his art abroad. This was Stuart. Between the first sitting given to Mr. P. and that given to Mr. Stuart, Washington had received from a Philadelphia dentist a new set of artificial teeth, very clumsily made, and had inserted them in his mouth; the consequence of which was the disfigurement of the lower part of his face, which looked, said Mr. Bushrod Washington to Mr. Peale, as if he had filled his mouth full of water and was in the act of rinsing it. As he thus appeared Stuart painted him, and from that painting made several copies, which he called copies of his first portrait. Stuart was very jealous with regard to this original portrait, and it is therefore highly improbable that he would have allowed Birch to copy it; but Birch must have obtained access to one of the copies made by Stuart, and from that copy, with the assistance of his pencil sketch, executed his enamel. Mr. Peale recognizes this as particularly taken from Stuart's first portrait of 1795, from which

Stuart's portrait of 1796, now at Boston, differs in some respects, as in the position of the head, the shadow, etc. Mr. Peale thinks, however, that in the enamel Birch modified somewhat the disfigurement of the lower part of Washington's face honestly portrayed by Stuart, whilst he considers the coloring and the upper features (above the mouth) as very excellent in resemblance to the original. Stuart professed to have rubbed out his first portrait, but Mr. P. thinks that he sold it to Mr. Wistanley of London. Stuart had observed, but never knew the cause of the disfigurement of the mouth and cheeks of Washington.

J. HOWARD MCHENRY

Baltimore.

HOUDON AND STUART.—I have compared carefully the Houdon bust with the photogram from the original study of Washington by Stuart, now in the Boston Museum of Art. A close comparison proves the fidelity of both these likenesses. In all the characteristic markings they correspond. The subtle shades of modeling agree in them. In the Stuart head there is a little more breadth across the lower part of the face, the mouth slightly longer, and the chin more pronounced—but the differences are slight, and in those very differences are found points of resemblance. They prove each other's truth.

New York.

D. HUNTINGTON

FIRST EXHIBITION OF STUART'S WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK.

General Washington. To be seen every day at the New City Tavern, Broadway.

A full length Portrait of General Wash-

ington (large as life), represented in the position of addressing Congress the last time, before his retirement from public life. This Picture was painted by the much celebrated American Artist, Mr. G. Stewart (who is now at Philadelphia). Mr. Stewart is justly celebrated as the greatest painter of the age, and Washington is his hobby horse. Those who have not had the pleasure of seeing our illustrious Washington now have the opportunity of gratifying themselves, and those who have seen him will here again realize all his noble dignity and triumphs, bestowing his good advice to his countrymen. He is surrounded with allegorical emblems of his public life in the service of his country, which are highly illustrative of the great and tremendous storms which have frequently prevailed. These storms have abated, and the appearance of the rainbow is introduced in the back ground as a sign. (Mr. Cumberland of this city will be entitled to much credit for the richness and elegance of the frame). Admittance, two shillings; and those who will pay one dollar will have a ticket to visit as long as the painting is to be seen in this city.


It will be exhibited for one month, after which it will be removed to one other of our principal cities, for it is intended that it shall make a tour of the United States.

N. B. There is for sale in the same room the magnificent Musical Clock, which was at the Panorama, price, 1750 dollars. Also ten original full length paintings, taken from life, just arrived from France, of the following celebrated personages, viz. :

Marquis de la Fayette, Robespierre, Petiou, Rabaut St. Etienne, Thomas Paine, Clermont Tonnerre, Mirabeau, Brissot, Gensonne, Camille Desmoulins.

The above paintings will be sold, the whole together or separately. They are all very excellent likenesses.

G. BAKER.

 Hours of admittance from 10 to 2 o'clock, and from 3 to 5 in the afternoon. February 5.—*The Time Piece*, February 7, 1798.

—
THE EARL OF BUCHAN'S GIFT TO WASHINGTON.—Sparks' publications, the Writings of Washington and Letters to Washington, contain part of a correspondence between the President and the Earl of Buchan which extended over several years. Some other parts of these manuscripts are in the possession of General C. W. Darling, of Utica, New York State, to whose courtesy the following contribution is due :

In the year 1792 the following paragraphs appeared in the newspapers of the United States :

"Philadelphia, Jan. 4th. On Friday morning was presented to the president of the United States (then general Washington) a box, elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated Oak Tree that sheltered the Washington of Scotland, the brave and patriotic Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Edward 1st. This magnificent and truly characteristic present, is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hand of Mr Archibald Robertson, a Scots gentleman, and portrait painter, who arrived in America some months

ago. The box was presented to lord Buchan by the Goldsmith's company at Edinburgh; from whom his lordship requested, and obtained leave to make it over to a man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and the only man in the world to whom he thought it justly due. We hear farther, that lord Buchan has, by letter, requested of the president, that on the event of his decease, he will consign the box to that man, in this country, who shall appear, in his judgment, to merit it best, upon the same considerations that induced him to send it to the present possessor. "The inscription, upon a silver plate, on the inside of the lid, is as follows:—Presented by the goldsmiths of Edinburgh, to David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the freedom of their corporation, by their deacon:—A D 1790."

The following letter, which accompanied the box that was presented to General George Washington by Mr. Archibald Robertson, from Lord Buchan, does not appear in Sparks' Letters to Washington, in which the first letter printed from Lord Buchan is of date 15 Sept., 1791:

"Dryburg-Abbey, June 28th, 1791.

"Sir,

"I had the honor to receive your excellency's letter relating to the advertisement of Dr. Anderson's periodical publication, in the Gazette of the United States; which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly, and return you my grateful acknowledgments. In the 21st No of that Literary Miscellany, I inserted a monitory paper respecting America, which I flatter myself, may, if attended to on the other side of the Atlantic, be productive of good consequences. To use your own emphatic

words, 'may the Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect,' consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the American people, a government instituted by themselves for public and private security, upon the basis of law and equal administration of justice, preserving to every individual as much civil and political freedom as is consistent with the safety of the nation; and may He be pleased to continue your life and strength as long as you can be in any way useful to your country. I have entrusted this sheet enclosed in a box made of the oak that sheltered our great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, to Mr. Robertson of Aberdeen, a painter, with the hope of his having the honor of delivering it into your hands; recommending him as an able artist, seeking for fortune and fame in the New World. This box was presented to me by the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, to whom, feeling my own unworthiness to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested and obtained leave to make it over to the man to whom I thought it most justly due; into your hands I commit it; requesting of you to pass it, in the event of your decease, to the man in your own country, who shall appear to your judgment to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced me to send it to your Excellency.

I am, with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obed't

And obliged humble servant

General Washington
President of the United States of America

BUCHAN

Washington's letter of acknowledgment, dated Philadelphia, May 1, 1792, was printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington, X. 229, and his will, also, recommitting the Box made from the Wallace Oak, has been repeatedly published.

EDITOR.

HISTORICAL ANECDOTE OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.—The original manuscript, of which the following is a translation, is in the handwriting of the celebrated St. John de Crèvecoeur, and was recently placed in the hands of Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo by the present Count de Crèvecoeur, grandson of the author.

Immediately upon the recognition by England of the independence of her ancient colonies General Washington made haste to resign his command (toward the close of 1783), and to return to Mount Vernon, where, in the same manner as before the revolution, he divided his time between reading, the cultivation of his beautiful seat and the society of his neighbors and numerous friends. He built a country house after the plans of Arthur Young. He raised a fine flock with the sheep and the dams which the King of Spain had sent to him. He planted a vineyard of several acres and a large nursery of fruit trees brought from Europe. Such were his quiet pursuits when in 1789 the public voice called him to the administration of the new federal government. It was at this period that the inhabitants of the Northern States, a large number of whom had served under his orders, and entertained the greatest veneration for his virtues, entreated him to pass some months among them. Long detained

by business of the Government, he could not undertake the journey until 1791. Accompanied by his Secretary, he left New York. The eagerness of the public to supply him with horses made up for the want of relays, which were not then known. His passage across the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire was one series of festivities, joy and pleasure for all classes of citizens, who again looked with deep feeling upon him whom they had formerly called their hero and their friend. He entered the towns of Boston, accompanied by a numerous escort of troops, old soldiers and inhabitants, who had come out to meet him as far as Watertown. The next day he received the congratulations of the Government, addresses from the municipality, the courts, the clergy, and tributes of gratitude and tender affection from other classes of society. The sailors, no less eager to show their homage and devotion, decorated their vessels with flags, elected an orator and came to express the joy they felt at seeing him in their town. All business and trade were suspended, forgotten for three days. Never before had the inhabitants of this capital of Massachusetts experienced a more perfect delight. The astonishment of General Washington seemed equal to the pleasure he enjoyed at observing wherever he went that all traces of the injuries and long sufferings which this town had undergone during the war had entirely disappeared; that a large number of houses and public buildings had been built, the wharves had been repaired, the two fine bridges of Charlestown and Cambridge constructed, and

several large factories established, a very different spectacle from that this same town presented when he forced the English army and squadron to evacuate it and set sail for Nova Scotia. He was not less astonished nor pleased to see the flourishing agricultural condition of neighboring fields, in the midst of which he had been compelled to set his camp, now covered with crops, vines and elegant houses, in many of which he was received and feasted by his old companions in arms, who, like himself, had helped to establish the independence of their country, and were now become good farmers.

But the time that General Washington had allowed himself being spent, he left for New Hampshire, whose Governor, at the head of several squadrons of cavalry, awaited him with impatience on the frontier of this State. The General had just separated from the numerous escort which accompanied him beyond Newburyport, when a violent storm threatening, he ordered his courier, who had not found any lodgings at the inn near by, to stop at the first habitation. He was taking tea with the proprietor and his family when he was informed that one of the residents of the place earnestly desired to speak to him. "I have just experienced a great misfortune; you alone, General, can repair it." "I do not understand you. What do you mean?" "A man on horseback came to my house to ask if I could lodge the President. Supposing that he meant the head of some College or other corporate Society to whom law and custom give this title, I replied— 'My house is full,' which was in fact the case; and

when I saw my mistake you were already far distant. Ah! how much I regret, General, not to have known it was of you he spoke. What could have been the motive of Congress to designate by a name so common with us the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Armies, summoned by the affection and the gratitude of his fellow countrymen to the first magistracy of this country? Fatal mistake, which deprived me of the happiness of receiving you! If I dared to hope that you would deign to honor my house with your presence on your return to Boston, I should feel consoled for my misfortune! Do not think, I conjure you, that it is as the inn keeper I thus address you. It is as a member of the great family which you had the glory of emancipating from the British yoke after seven long years of labor, anxieties and dangers. It is as an honest farmer who, like yourself, carefully cultivates his fields. General, grant me the favor I ask of you, and this day and that on which I shall have the honor to receive you in my house will be the happiest of my life." After kindly replying to the farmer, General Washington granted his request, and on his return from New Hampshire did not forget his promise.

This anecdote is quite in the style of de Crèvecoeur, as those familiar with the French edition of his *Lettres d'un Cultivateur*, which is much more elaborate than that which he published in English, will readily recognize. EDITOR.

WASHINGTON AT SARATOGA.—It is well known that General Washington visited the military posts and battle-

fields of northern New York in 1783, while waiting for a final settlement of the treaty of peace. It may not be uninteresting to recall the fact of his visit to Saratoga Springs, a place that was then a wild forest of pines, sloping into a marshy, dreary valley.

The Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Colonel Hamilton and Governor Clinton, came by boat from Newburg to Albany. At this place they were joined by General Philip Schuyler, and together they continued the journey on horseback to Stillwater, where they spent the night at the house of Harmonus Schuyler. The family were all away from home except one daughter. We can imagine the flutter of anxiety and responsibility she felt in entertaining, unassisted, these distinguished guests. In that day, it is true, hospitality was so general a virtue that all women performed its duties with a natural grace and ease that are rare at the present time, but the glory of Washington's achievement was then at its height, and a young girl who had grown up in the Schuyler family, where patriotic sentiments and devotion to the great commander were synonymous, must have felt a certain awe tempering her pleasure in receiving the man whose name was so honored.

The gallant Generals appreciated the attentions of their young hostess, and when parting from her on the following morning General Washington raised her hand to his lips in the chivalric manner of that time. Long years after, when an old lady and on her death-bed, her youngest nephew called to see her, and on taking leave, she put out her hand to

him, saying: "Not my lips, George, but kiss the hand that long ago was consecrated by the kiss of Washington."

Leaving Stillwater the traveling party rode to the Saratoga battle-ground, and galloped over the heights where but a short time before the American and British camps looked defiance at each other across the intervening ravine. They rode on to the place of surrender, and we see Schuyler, to whom the ground was so familiar, pointing out each spot where the momentous contest was continued and finally settled.

Proceeding on their journey they took boats at Lake George, inspected the fortifications at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and on their return stopped at the High Rock Spring, where the village of Saratoga Springs now stands. Here they lingered long enough for General Washington to be strongly impressed, not only with the value of the water, but with the importance that would eventually be attached to the surrounding land. Early in the same year General Schuyler had cut a road through the forest from his place at old Saratoga, now Schuylerville, to the spring, and he kept a tent pitched at the latter place during the summer months. General Washington and Governor Clinton now determined to unite in purchasing the spring and a large tract of land around it, if the necessary arrangements could be effected with the holders of the old patent. This is evident from a letter of Washington to Clinton later in the same summer. Clinton found, however, that some members of the Livingston family had already secured the purchase. This was a subject of regret to Washington,

for in a letter to Governor Clinton, dated November 25th, 1784, he says: "I am sorry we have been disappointed in our expectation of the mineral spring at Saratoga, and of the purchase of that part of the Oriskany tract upon which Fort Schuyler stands." He and Governor Clinton afterwards became joint owners of six thousand acres adjoining the latter, which General Washington says they got amazingly cheap.

General Otho H. Williams in a letter to General Washington, dated Baltimore, July 12th, 1784, says, in referring to a journey up the North River: "One reason I had in extending my tour so far that course was to visit the spring in the vicinity of Saratoga which I recollected you once recommended to me as a remedy for the rheumatism. Colonel Armstrong and myself spent a week there which was equal to a little campaign, for the accommodations were wretched, and provisions exceedingly scarce; we were forced to send to the borders of the Hudson for what was necessary for our subsistence." He then proceeds to give his correspondent something like an analysis of the water, having made numerous experiments in evaporating and bottling it.

In his quick apprehension of the value of the spring, of its advantageous location, and probable popularity, Washington evinced the comprehensive, receptive and practical qualities of mind which were conducive to his success in more important affairs. One feels inclined to speculate on the possible effect Washington's ownership, if it had been accomplished, would have had on the spring, which then stood like a sentinel

at the door of a laboratory, whose treasures—many health-giving springs—have since been exposed to view.

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH.

Saratoga Springs.

MAJOR BAZALEEL HOWE OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE GUARD. — Major Bazaleel Howe of the New Hampshire line of the Continental army, and for a period of six months an Auxiliary Lieutenant in General Washington's Life Guard, entered the army at the very commencement of the war. Boston Harbor was to be defended; men were being gathered in from the surrounding country. New Hampshire and Massachusetts contributed of their choicest sons. The morning came for the men to march. Young Howe, of New Hampshire, was but a youth. As the men fell into line his eye rested on a middle-aged man whose wife and daughters stood near him. As the time of marching drew near the wife threw her arms about his neck, the daughters were bathed in tears, while the man himself was deeply affected. Young Howe's heart was touched, and stepping forward he said: "Give me your old gun and I'll go for you, and if the government ever gets able to furnish me with a gun I'll send the old thing back to you." The offer was at once accepted. He fell into line, and in a brief period, to the music of the drum and fife, the men marched away, young Howe to return to his home no more till the close of the war, and then only on a brief visit to his mother.

He served throughout the entire war, entering the army as a private. He was subsequently commissioned as a Lieu-

tenant, Captain and Major, and after the close of the war served with General Wayne in the Indian war for three years. He subsequently remained in the army for six years, making sixteen years in the regular army. He was one of the original members of the Cincinnati Society, and settled shortly after his retirement from the army in the city of New York, where he resided up to the period of his death in 1825.

He remarked that he never was in the presence of General Washington but that he felt deeply impressed with a sense of his being in the presence of a man of great superiority.

He was at the battle of Long Island. An old man who had been one of his soldiers, after his death said: "The Captain was a coward and ran away. Lieutenant Howe took command of the company; we fought all day, and then ran many miles at night." He was a marksman of no ordinary ability. He served for a period with Colonel A. Hamilton's regiment, and was one of his picked men. Being surprised by the enemy he ran to the barn, mounted Hamilton's war horse bare-backed, and in a full run under a heavy fire, escaped.

In a fort in the intensest cold weather they were in hourly expectation of being attacked. They tore up all their blankets to make cartridges; but there was no attack. Their sufferings were greatly enhanced by the severity of the weather while their coverings were all destroyed. Could the incidents of the war, as talked over by him and some of his comrades within the hearing of the writer in his boyhood, be recalled, they would be read with deep interest.

Passaic.

J. M. HOWE.

Copy of a letter given Major Bazaleel Howe by General Washington:

"I do hereby certify and make known to all whom these presents shall come that Mr — Howe late a Lieut in the New Hampshire line of the continental army was an officer of a fair and respectable character, that he served some part of the last year of the war as an Auxiliary Lieutenant with my own guard, that he commanded the escort which came with my baggage and papers to Mount Vernon at the close of the war, and that in all my acquaintance with him I had great reason to be satisfied with his integrity, intelligence and good disposition

Given under my hand this 12th day of May 1788

G WASHINGTON

Dr. J. B. Howe, of Passaic, New Jersey, the son of the worthy soldier whose services are above described, is the present owner of the Dey House at Preakness, once famous as Washington's Headquarters. He has kindly communicated numerous details concerning his father's personal intercourse with General Washington, and some interesting letters and orders from him, which will appear in their course in the series of Washington's Letters. EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S ENTRANCE TO NEW YORK, 25 NOV. 1783.—The following account is taken from a leaf inserted in an almanac which belonged to Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt—"Bickensleth's Boston Almanac, 1783."

"N. B.—I went from Peekskill Tuesday the 18th of Novr In company with his Excellency Govr Clinton, Coll Benson and Coll Campbell, lodge that night with Genl Cortlandt at Croton River proceeded & lodged Wednesday night at Edeo Covenhovens where we met his Excellency Genl Washington & his aids, the next night lodged with Fredrk V Cortlandt at the Yonkers after having dwelt with Genl Lewis Morris. Friday morning we rode in company with the

Commander in Chief as far as the Widow Days at Harlem where we held a council, Saturday I wrote down to Mr Stuyvesant, stayd there untill Tuesday then rode triumphants into the City next the Commander." C. E. V. C.

Momer House, Croton Landing.

WASHINGTON AN ABOLITIONIST. — Thursday, May 26, 1785. Mr. Asbury [Francis Asbury Bishop, of the M. E. Church] and I set off for General Washington's. We were engaged to dine there the day before. The General's seat is very elegant; built upon the great river Potomawk; for the improvement of the navigation of which, he is carrying on jointly with the State some amazing Plans. He received us very politely, and was very open to access. He is quite the plain, Country-Gentleman. After dinner we desired a private interview, and opened to him the grand business on which we came, presenting to him our petition for the emancipation of the Negroes, and entreating his signature, if the eminence of his station did not render it inexpedient for him to sign any petition. He informed us that he was of our sentiments, and had signified his thoughts on the subject to most of the great men of the State; that he did not see it proper to sign the petition, but if the Assembly took it into consideration, would signify his sentiments to the Assembly by a letter. He asked us to spend the evening and lodge at his house, but our engagement at Annapolis the following day would not admit of it. We returned that evening to Alexandria. *Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

WASHINGTON'S CININNATUS. — To Washington as "a Cincinnatus" was given an antique cameo mounted in a ring 30 millimeters broad, 25 high, representing two personages, in which it is difficult to find the Farmer Dictator. Nevertheless the American hero gave this ring as a souvenir of the Cincinnati to Kosciusko, who had served as his aid-de-camp in the war of independence. Kosciusko in turn presented it to Baron de Girardot, who served in the Polish Chevaux-légers of the National guard, who left it to his son. *Cadre américain de Cincinnatus en France, by Baron de Girardot (1860.)* EDITOR.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.— ADDITIONS.—(III., 152.) In the Itinerary of General Washington there is a gap from June 23d to the 4th of August, 1783, a part of which might be filled as follows:

July 17. Left Newburg to visit the northern and western parts of the State, in company with Governor Clinton, Alexander Hamilton and Colonels Fish and Humphrey; passed Albany, Old Saratoga, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and returned by way of Ballston and Schenectady; thence up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix, and over to Wood Creek; thence down across to Otsego Lake, and over the portage to the Mohawk.

August 4. At Albany, after above trip of 700 miles in eighteen days, mostly on horseback.

Troy, N. Y.

JAS. FORSYTH.

— *Addition.* — (III., 152, 1783.) "I have lately made a tour through the Lakes George and Champlain as far as Crown Point; thence returning to Schenectady I proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Schuyler formerly Fort Stanwix and crossed over to Wood Creek which empties into the Oneida Lake and affords water communication with Ontario— I thus traversed the country to the head of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna and viewed the Lake Otsego, another portage between that Lake and the Mohawk river at Canajoharie." Washington to the Marquis de Chastellux, letter dated 12 October, 1783, Sparks' Writings of Washington, VIII., 488.

EDITOR.

— *Correction.* — (III., 152, 1783.) In the very useful Itinerary of General Washington in the Magazine of February, 1879, it is stated that he departed from Philadelphia June 21st, 1775. All the biographers of Washington give this date, I presume, because Washington, in a letter of June 20, tells his brother that he expects to set out for Boston next day. The actual date was June 23 as appears by a newspaper extract in Moore's Diary of the Revolution, and also by a letter of John Adams to his wife, which letter is dated June 23, and begins, "I have this morning been out of town to accompany our generals, Washington, Lee and Schuyler, a little way on their journey," etc. It is a matter of justice to Mr. Bancroft to mention that he gives the true date. I believe no one else does.

F. BURDGE.

— *Correction.* — (III., 157.) In the Washington number, Washington is placed at Newburg, November 4, 1783, and (III., 160) it is stated that it was at Newburg he issued the proclamation disbanding the army November 4, 1783. We have no local record of his occupation of Headquarters here after August 12, and have presumed that his Farewell Orders were issued at Rocky Hill, N. J. That he went from thence to Princeton, and from thence to West Point, where he remained November 14, 1783.

Newburg. E. M. RUTTENBER.

Mr. Ruttenber is correct. The order is dated at Rocky Hill, Nov. 2, 1783. See Sparks [VIII, 491]. The error in the Itinerary was repeated in the description of the Newburg Headquarters.

EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Yellow Cottage, Pompton, N. J.— General Washington never lived in Pompton, but only stopped as a traveler on his way to New Windsor and Newburg, and at such times was accommodated with rest and refreshment at the Yellow House (now known as the Old Yellow Cottage). Judge Ryerson had purchased and lived there at the first of the war, but being so frequently called on to entertain the officers and others connected with the army, rented the house to a Mr. Curtis, who kept it as a tavern or house of public entertainment until the close of the war, Mr. Ryerson taking his family home to his father's house on the road to the Ponds. This Mr. Curtis was a man of jovial sport and humor. On his sign he had

the picture of a horse, a fish and a bird, with this *poetry* underneath :

This is the Horse that never ran.
This is the Fish that never swam.
This is the Bird that never flew.

After the close of the war Mr. Ryerson again took possession of this house, and there his children were born. When he left the Yellow Cottage to enter into the new house (now the dwelling of Mr. C. W. Mills), Jacob M. Ryerson came to occupy the old one.

Pompton retained its Dutch characteristics until a very recent period. Its changes have been owing to the influence of the sons of the old residents, who, after education in more stirring neighborhoods, returned to vivify and modernize their own Pompton.

L. T. R.

The Yellow Cottage, Pompton, N. J.—

From a biographical sketch of William Colfax, read before the New Jersey Historical Society by William Nelson, Jan. 10, 1876, occurs the following reference to the Old Yellow House :

"While the army was at Pompton Plains the citizens showed the officers various courtesies. About a quarter of a mile above the Pompton Steel Works the road to Wanaque and Ringwood leaves the old Hamburg turnpike, and at the southeast corner of these roads stands an ancient yellow frame house, two stories high in front, with roof sloping almost to the ground in the rear ; a covered verandah in front, quaint half-doors, and various other unmistakable evidence of belonging to a past age. This was the residence, during the Revolution, of Caspar as (Dutch for Jasper)

Schuyler (b. 10 Dec. 1735), grandson of Frank Schuyler. His house was the scene of many a festive gathering a century ago, in which Washington and his suite participated. The young officers found here a great attraction in the charming daughter Hester (who in accordance with a custom of Dutch families, was named after her grandmother Hester, daughter of Isaac Kingsland), and the valiant young Colfax, brave as he was in battle, surrendered at discretion before the flash of her bright eyes. Soon after the war he took up his residence at Pompton and married Hester Schuyler, 27 August, 1783."

These particulars were received by Mr. Nelson from the late Dr. Colfax, the son of the General Colfax mentioned, who was during the revolution the Captain of Washington's Body Guard.

J. A. J.

—The Dey House at Preakness, N. J.

From tradition and presumptive evidence we believe that this house was built by Derick Dey, the father of Col. Thennis Dey, in 1720. The children of the latter were all born there, as well as those of his eldest son, Richard Dey, my grandfather, Anthony Dey, being his eldest child, and recording the fact in his family Bible.

At the death of Richard Dey in 1811, his widow and family, with the exception of his eldest son, my grandfather, Anthony Dey, who resided in this city, removed to Seneca—not Onondaga—County, as Mr. Nelson says (Mag. III., 495,) in his sketch of the headquarters.

J. WARREN S. DEY.

New York.

